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SELF and OTHER Representations in Contemporary
Russian Discourse on Migration

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Preface

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Certificate of Authorship

I certify that the work in this thesis has not previously been submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as part of requirements for a degree except as fully acknowledged within the text.

I also certify that the thesis has been written by me. Any help that I have received in my research work and the preparation of the thesis itself has been acknowledged. In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

Signature of Candidate

Date

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Abstract

This thesis is a discourse-analytical study of SELF and OTHER representations in contemporary Russian discourse on migration. The overall aim of this thesis is to explore how SELF and OTHER discourse participants are represented in pro-governmental discourse, to which extent the ideology of pro-governmental media discourse can be classified as discriminatory towards migrants and how it changes in the period between the years 2006 and 2009.

The discussion is based on the results of the discourse analysis of the corpus of texts collected from three various sources. Firstly, the pro-governmental moderate corpus of media articles collected from the website of the Moscow City Council in August – November 2006 is compared to the corpus of texts collected from the website of the radical anti-migrant movement DPNI. The purpose of this comparative study is to establish the extent of commonalities through the analysis of referential-categorizing and evaluative strategies between the two types of discourse. Moreover, in the instances of represented discourse, it is important to understand how journalists position themselves and the readers with respect to the evaluative force of the statements. The results received from the analysis of these strategies are used to construct discourse space ontology for SELF and OTHER representations.

Secondly, the moderate corpus is extended to receive more data for the analysis of conceptual imagery, i.e. metaphors. The analysis of metaphors confirms tendencies typical of migration discourse but also has its special pattern which is attributed to sociocultural specifics explored through the examination of conceptual blends. The evaluative dimension constitutes an important aspect of the discourse analysis of conceptual imagery.

Finally, a multimodal corpus of verbal and visual data representing a protest action by the pro-governmental youth movement “Molodaia Gvardiia” at the end of 2008 – beginning of 2009 is searched for specific

strategies of SELF and OTHER representation.

The analysis shows an extensive use of discursive strategies typical of racist ideology used for the representation of SELF and OTHER discourse participants in pro-governmental media discourse on migration.

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List of Abbreviations

- CDA - Critical Discourse Analysis
CBT - Conceptual Blending Theory
CMT - Conceptual Metaphor Theory
DA - Discourse Analysis
DC - Deictic Centre
DST - Discourse Space Theory
DPNI - Dvizhenie Protiv Nelegal'noi Immigracii 'Movement Against Illegal Immigration
FMS - Federal'naia Migracionnaia Sluzhba 'Federal Migration Service'
MC - Moderate Corpus
MGER - Molodaia Gvardiia Edinoi Rossii 'Young Guard of United Russia'
RC - Radical Corpus
RNE - Russkoe Nacional'noe Edinstvo 'Russian National Unity'

Introduction

Background and previous research

Issues of migration are increasingly important in the modern world. The report “Migration and Remittances” published by the World Bank in January 2007 states that “migration has been an important part of the transition process in Europe and Central Asia” and “Russia is home to the second largest number of migrants after the United States.”¹ By migration I mean the movement of large numbers of people from one place to another. Migration in this thesis concerns a large-scale movement of people mainly from the territory of the former Soviet Union to the Russian Federation. The issue of migration has become a topic of heated discussion at various levels: parliamentary debates, news, interviews and analytical articles in the media and general conversation. The print media, such as newspapers and magazines and their online versions, discuss various topics of migration, and these constitute contemporary migration discourse. Some contributions focus on the positive role of migrants in Russian economic, political and cultural life, some publish blatantly offensive materials discriminating against migrants on various grounds, and some represent alternative ideologies with regard to migrants.

According to Grafova (2006) , the general policy of strengthening the power and establishment of order declared by Putin's administration in the early 2000s resulted, among other things, in a real ‘war’ against irregular migrants. The term *irregular migration* has gained currency in academic papers for the phenomenon that in the media became known in the media as *illegal migration*. Mass apprehensions, penalization and deportations of migrants were followed by xenophobic publications in the media (cf. Ivakhniuk 2009).

¹ http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTECA/Resources/257896-1167856389505/Migration_FullReport.pdf , accessed on 25/05/2007

Migration discourse in the Russian Federation from the second half of 2006 is represented in the Russian Internet (Runet) through prolific media reporting which appeared following several major events. First of all, interethnic riots in the small Karelian town of Kondopoga, which started at the end of August 2006 and continued throughout September 2006, resulted in a vigorous discussion of the issue of migration, SELF- and migrant identities and interethnic relations. Secondly, a Russo-Georgian crisis broke out at the end of September and beginning of October 2006. It had major repercussions not only at the intergovernmental level, but also at the level of internal security of the country. The media reported that an alleged lack of security on the Russian territory arose due to a large number of Georgians or, by extension, to anybody from the region of the Caucasus. At the same time, the Russian government decided to introduce stricter legislation while at the same time liberalizing other aspects of migration-related regulations (Zaionchkovskaia 2007, Ivakhniuk 2009:56). The government imposed a quota of 6 million work permits to foreign citizens from the former Soviet republics that enjoy a visa-free regime with Russia (ibid.). A governmental act was passed on 15 November 2006 setting out limits for visas issued to migrants and introducing restrictions for migrants employed on the territory of the Russian Federation, which may have represented a legislative consequence of two major events described events. In addition, a vivid discussion was launched by the Russian media with regard to the governmental resettlement project of the so-called соотечественники 'compatriots'. This expression was treated as a legal term by the Russian government, but its meaning was negotiated and redefined by various participants of migration discourse as its legal definition was rather vague.

Both pro-governmental and right-wing groups participated in the opinions exchange on these events. The number of publications discussing migration, migrants, the Russian people, соотечественники 'compatriots' and non-Russians in general soared dramatically.

Although the turn in the migration policy of the Russian Federation

towards self-proclaimed liberalization and humanization looked very promising, and irregular migration has decreased due to the liberalized process of registering migrants (cf. Tiuriukanova 2009), mass apprehensions and implicit xenophobic or plainly anti-migrant public debates keep arising. The “Anti-Caucasus action” of mainly extremist youths, which was held at Manezhnaia Square in the centre of Moscow on December 11, 2010 and similar protests, which spread across the whole of the Russian Federation in December 2010, can be seen as an outcome of such 'xenophobization'. At these protests, apart from chanting extremist xenophobic slogans addressing migrants from the Caucasus and other migrants on the territory of Russia, the most radical protesters took to physical violence which led to numerous casualties on the part of defenceless migrants.

The failure of the Russian government to prevent and to intervene effectively in overtly extreme xenophobic and racist events raises questions about its attitude to migrants and the anti-migrant rhetoric. This unambiguous attitude was most recently expressed by the now former press secretary of the Federal Migration Service Konstantin Poltoranin in his infamous interview to the BBC on the state of migration in the Permsky Region on 20 April, 2011.² In this interview, the representative of the government agency dealing with migration explicitly expressed concerns about the survival of the white race which was perceived as an unquestionably racist statement.

In the meantime, the studies of contemporary Russian migration discourse in the media from a sociolinguistic perspective have been rather meagre in the last decade.

In 2004, the Centre of Demography and Human Ecology of the Russian Academy of Sciences published in their online bulletin “Demoscope Weekly” (№ 179 – 180: 2004) a series of articles dealing with

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http://www.bbc.co.uk/russian/russia/2011/04/110420_fms_white_race.shtml,
accessed on 21 April, 2011

various aspects of migration discourses in contemporary Russia. The discussion concerned both general aspects, e.g. the effect of political affiliation on the evaluation of migration processes, and more socio-linguistically oriented studies concerning verbal representations of migrants in the Russian media (Titov 2003, Karpenko 2002, Peshkova 2004).

With regard to the effect of political affiliation the following conclusion were drawn (after Mukomel 2004):

1) Migration has become not only an ideological, but an important electoral resource since the mid-1990s.

2) The affiliation of a politician with a certain wing of the political spectrum can predict the political stance of the issue of migration, i.e. induce positive or negative evaluation of migration processes. Thus, left-wing politicians, i.e. communists and national patriots, e.g. Rogozhin, Alsknis, Tkachev and Ziuganov, adopted a negative stance on migration whereas liberals, such as Yavlinskii and Nemtsov, favour a pro-migration point of view. The centrist discourse represented by the Russian president and pro-presidential parties, i.e. “United Russia”, adopted a rather controversial position, which fluctuates between an explicitly anti-migration and a pro-migration stance.

3) Centrist, i.e. presidential, discourse represents an attempt to find a balance between the right and the left-wing position on migration.

The stance of the right-of-centre “imperialist” politicians, such as Zhirinovskii and Dugin, was characterized by Mukomel as “the discourse of the backyard” (Mukomel 2004). In a couple of years following this publication, a clear anti-immigrant position became especially noticeable within ultra-radical movements of both left (then “Rodina”, “Mestnye”, RNE) and right (DPNI) wings of the Russian political landscape.³ However, as Hutchings et al (2010:70) notice, “as part of Putin's authoritarian-

³ Following culture-specific connotation of the RIGHT and LEFT in Russian political discourse, these politonyms are abandoned in the further discussion. It is assumed that the actors participating in the migration discourse belong either to moderate (pro-immigration or neutral) or radical (anti-immigration) ideological movements.

nationalist power axis, [...] formerly extreme politicians have now been 'mainstreamed'.

More socio-linguistically oriented studies have investigated specific instances and emotional-evaluative effects arising due to application of categorization and metaphors, specific cognitive schemas and concepts in the discourse of the title nation towards immigrant communities. Titov (2003) examined the process of the construction of ethnic migrants' representations by the Russian media in 2000-2002 from a socio-cognitive perspective. He observed a correlation between the evaluative, emotionally charged and metaphorically rich characterizations of the social images and conflicting, unpredictable interpersonal relations between the recipient and immigrant communities. Discussing the strategies of the shaping of the SELF/ OTHER identities, Titov emphasised that

...The result of the process of the attribution of motives, categorization and metaphorization of the identity of the "other" is the objectivization of the image, when the attributed becomes a socially significant basis for the principles of the interaction with the "other". The "other" stops being a neutral object of perception and becomes a symbol for the construction of a certain line of action.

(Titov 2003:43)

The majority of media publications analyzed by Titov (2003) demonstrate the construction of the dichotomic SELF-OTHER continuum where the otherness of the migrant is conceptualized primarily in terms of cultural and life-style difference. The evaluative scale of the otherness reaches from a relatively neutral concept of "Other" to evaluative references such as "alien, hostile" (extremely negative) to "unknown, exotic" (rather positive).

More recently, the informational-analytical centre SOVA, after conducting extensive research on hate language in the Russian mass media, noticed in their editorial that

we are observing rapid changes in the hate language in the mass media. Now the intolerant rhetoric of journalists, public figures and

politicians does not directly violate bans but it plays a significant role in sustaining a very high xenophobic background in public mood...⁴

Similarly to Titov (2003), the observations of SOVA demonstrate substantial negative attitudes expressed in the representation of the “Other” in contemporary Russian migration discourse (cf. Verkhovskii et al 2010, Kozhevnikova 2008).

A notable discourse analytic line in the research on migration discourse in 2006 was taken by SOVA's leading specialist on migration discourse Galina Kozhevnikova. One of the important changes to instances of what was classified as hate language noticed by Kozhevnikova (2007) was the ethnization of concepts previously not laden with ethnic content, such as *мигрант* ‘migrant’, *гражданин* + Gen. ‘citizen’ + country, *уроженец* + Gen. ‘native’ + country/city/region, *выходцы из/с* + Gen. ‘natives of’ + country/region. According to Kozhevnikova (ibid.), the characterization ‘migrant’ became fully void of its social connotation and obtained exclusively “ethnic” overtones.

Kozhevnikova (2007) commented that the largest number of characterizations of Chechens and other people from the region of the Caucasus appeared to be due to the so-called Kondopoga effect (September 2006) and the Russo-Georgians crisis (October 2006). Generally ethnic xenophobia has, however, prevailed and migrants have been the most stable objects of hate language over a period of several years of her research. Kozhevnikova (ibid.) acknowledged that hate language is becoming more indirect, symbolic and rhetorically sophisticated and that the mass media choose to allude to cultural stereotypes. She also recognized that the currently used methodology of monitoring did not account for such changes and had to be substantially modified for its use in the future. For instance, such subtle discursive devices as allusions, ambiguities and metaphorical

⁴ <http://xeno.sova-center.ru/213716E/21728E3/BDF0127>, accessed on 16.08.2008

representations could not be explained through the available methodology..

Media representations of SELF and OTHER discourse participants in contemporary Russian migration discourse continue to attract the attention of researchers (cf. Akifieva and Tolkachiova 2008, Kros 2008, Hutchings et al. 2010). It is clear that the problem of xenophobization and the role of the Russian media have to be considered as two sides of the same coin and require constant monitoring and analysis. Making the results of such research public is especially important in countering the problem of xenophobization.

Objectives and Research Questions

Being alert to the sensibility of the chosen topic, my endeavour is to conduct a discourse analytical investigation of migration discourse in contemporary Russia concentrating on specific discursive devices used to convey the sociolinguistic phenomena of categorization, reference, metaphor and evaluation.

Advocating a (critical) discourse-analytical approach to language, I suggest that a certain ideology of migration discourse can be detected through these linguistic phenomena. Ideology is understood as

the interface between the cognitive representations and processes underlying discourse and action, on the one hand, and the societal position and interests and social groups, on the other hand... Ideologies mentally represent the basic social characteristics of a group, such as their identity, tasks, goals, norms, values, position and resources. (Van Dijk 1995:18)

Ideologies not only represent but also create group identities and can be expressed through various aspects of mental imagery, i.e. metaphor (cf. Charteris-Black 2009).

My initial observations suggest that pro-governmental media in contemporary Russia adopt a predominantly radical view when discussing

issues of migration. They use strategies and linguistic devices similar to those observed by scholars studying what in Western scholarship is called racist discourse. In racist discourse, the attributes of the Other discourse participants concern

the genetically determined or culturally determined differences which one sees, or believes one can see, which characterize the members of minorities. Generally these are seen to be negative, occasionally positive, and this evaluation is made from a position of power derived from belonging to a majority. (Jäger 1991: 4)

In order to prove this observation, a critical analysis of certain aspects of contemporary Russian migration discourse has been conducted on a representative corpus of texts collected from three major sources: a) the website of Moscow City Council, b) the website of the right extremist Movement against Illegal Migration (DPNI) and c) the website of the pro-governmental youth movement “Molodaia Gvardiia” (MGER).

The major research question dealt with in this thesis is as follows:

In what ways are SELF and OTHER discourse participants represented in the Russian discourse on migration in 2006-2009 and what is the discursive function of these representations?

Specific questions include:

1. Through what discursive strategies are SELF and OTHER discourse participants represented?
2. By which linguistic and extralinguistic means are SELF and OTHER discourse participants represented?
3. Can any specific ideologies be identified through the analysis of SELF and OTHER representations?

Each of these more specific questions can be broken down into more specific sub-questions:

- What are the discursive strategies of

- referring to SELF and OTHER?
- categorizing SELF and OTHER?
- evaluating SELF and OTHER?
- -What are the linguistic and extralinguistic means of SELF and OTHER representation:
 - verbal?
 - conceptual?
 - visual?
- What are the functions of these strategies and representations in discourse?

My hypothesis suggests that discursive strategies of SELF and OTHER representation used specifically in pro-governmental media during the period between the years of 2006 and 2009 provided an impetus for the expression of an increasingly anti-migrant discriminatory ideology. In order to test this hypothesis, I compare examples of pro-governmental media discourse (Moderate Corpus) with examples stemming from radical anti-migrant discourse (Radical Corpus). The analysis is intended to demonstrate how pro-governmental media use elements of hate speech and evaluation contingent with the discourse of the radical movement DPNI, which has been actively participating in all anti-migrant campaigns and street actions.

My additional objective is to demonstrate a dynamic development of Russian migration discourse by analysing two temporally different corpora, i.e. Extended Moderate Corpus (2006-2007) and Multimodal Corpus (the end of 2008 – the beginning of 2009) with the aim of comparing how the mainstream media under two consecutive governments (those of Putin and Medvedev) represent migrants and whether discursive strategies used in these two corpora are similar. In addition, Multimodal Corpus contains some visual material the analysis of which is required to fully analyze SELF and OTHER representations in the media. This ideally should lead to understanding of the ideology and attitudes to migrants in contemporary Russia.

Framework and Basic Theories

The analysis in this thesis is based on a sociocognitive approach to Critical Discourse Analysis.

A definition of discourse which is important in order to define a focused line of research corresponds to ideas drawn from the fields of critical theory, media studies and discourse analysis. Discourse is regarded as a “communicative event” developed in a specific socio-cultural context and containing various elements, such as participants and their relations and actions towards the external world and interaction amongst each other, and various ways of performance, presentation and identification. It is realized in many different semiotic forms of which language, i.e. linguistic forms of expression, is the most important. Discourse manifests itself in a variety of discourses, in statements which are produced according to some rules and which are expressed verbally or visually through texts and pictures. Such verbal and visual discourses can be collected in a corpus and analyzed with regard to their generalized and particularized features.

Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough 1995, Weiss and Wodak 2003, Wodak et al. 1999/2009) provides this study with a theoretical base. Language is regarded as a multifunctional device that, according to a systemic functional view, fulfils ideational, interpersonal and textual functions that are explained as follows in the sociocognitive strand of CDA:

- ideational function reflects construction and replication of mental structures/ models,
- interpersonal function reflects construction and replication of social relations and identities
- textual function reflects discourse structures and strategies that replicate ideologies and constitute and regulate social relations (after Van Dijk 1998a).

Discourse structures, such as the concepts of SELF and OTHER and metaphors that replicate ideologies, are investigated in this thesis by means

of theories originated in Cognitive Linguistics: Conceptual Blending Theory (Fauconnier 1997, Fauconnier and Turner 2002), Critical Metaphor Theory (Charteris-Black 2004, 2006, 2009) and Discourse Space Theory (Chilton 2004, 2005a, 2005b, forthcoming). These linguistic theories chosen for the analysis of my corpus support the main tenets of the sociocognitive framework.

Conceptual Blending Theory (Fauconnier 1997, Fauconnier and Turner 2002) is rooted in Mental Space Theory, which is a theory of online meaning construction. According to this theory, words do not refer directly to entities in the world but rather prompt the construction of mental spaces, which contain certain elements. Amongst these are agents, objects, actions and processes, and also image schemas, idealized cognitive models and other mental representations that constitute the conceptual level of the meaning of linguistic expressions. Some linguistic expressions, especially metaphorical expressions can be fairly precisely explained by Conceptual Blending Theory (CBT), while some require the application of Critical/Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Charteris-Black 2004, 2006, 2009).

Whereas conceptual metaphors are understood as relatively stable universal structures and mappings in this thesis, a *discourse metaphor* “functions as a key framing device within a particular discourse for a certain period of time.” (Zinken et al. 2007: 363) Discourse metaphors can be employed in discourse to advance the interests of more powerful discourse participants at the expense of other, less-powerful discourse participants. Discourse metaphors make use of some, but not all conceptual metaphors, and they do not always use the metaphoric mappings identified by Critical/Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT). To avoid conceptual complexity, in this thesis I will use the terminology of Zinken et al. (2007).

Conceptual Blending Theory argues that conceptual domains are structured by frames which can in turn give rise to conceptual and formal structures that can be shared throughout society (Fauconnier and Turner 2002). These entrenched conceptual structures based on metaphoric

mappings and discourse metaphors are exemplified through *conceptual scenarios* in this thesis in Chapter 5 and 6.

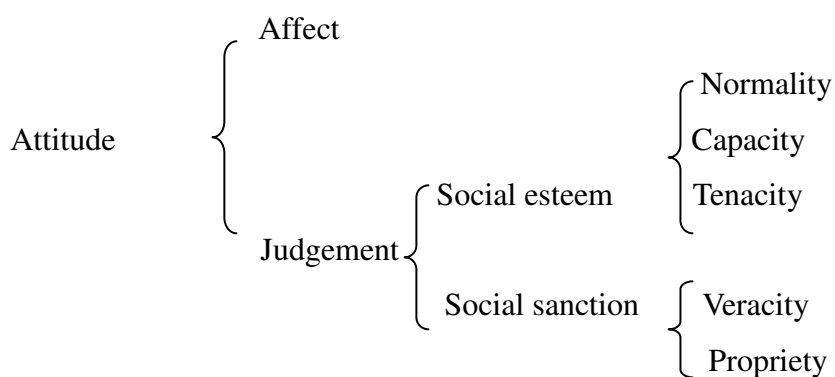
Another main tenet of Cognitive Linguistics, which is consistently pursued in this thesis, is the predominance of spatial cognition. It can be exemplified both at the theoretical level, when I use the spatial construct to talk about discourse space, and at the empirical level when we identify metaphors typical of migration discourse that are linked to spatial image schemas. The concept of discourse space is used to model discourse space ontologies, i.e. three-dimensional mental constructs reflecting certain diachronic aspects of discourse, according to Discourse Space Theory (Chilton 2004, 2005a, 2005b, forthcoming). An investigation into referential, categorizing and evaluative strategies of SELF and OTHER representation gives some of the values necessary for the construction of these mental models.

Categorization is seen as both a cognitive linguistic and a sociosemiotic process. The former perspective is rooted in the understanding of SELF and OTHER as conceptual entities based on the definition of frames by Barsalou (1992). A frame “includes a co-occurring set of abstract attributes that adopt different values across exemplars” (Barsalou 1992: 23) and it can be applied to the analysis of various types of individuals in the world (Barsalou et al. 1993). Guichard and Dumora (2008), using the notion of *cognitive identity frames*, suggest that it is precisely the system of such identity frames that constitutes the cognitive basis of the representation of the SELF and OTHER within structured social and linguistic contexts. The notion of cognitive identity frames is adopted for the conceptual representation of SELF and OTHER discourse participants, their relationships to each other, their properties and other elements, such as places and times.

The sociosemiotic conception is reflected in the sociosemiotic research on social actors representation by Van Leeuwen (1996, 2008), who draws up an extensive inventory for the characterization of individuals in

discriminatory discourses. The term *sociosemiotic* implies that Van Leeuwen's methodology can also be applied to the analysis of verbal and visual imagery in a multimodal corpus. In my analysis, I will replace Van Leeuwen's term *social actors* with the notion of *discourse participants* in order to emphasise the discourse analytical approach taken to the analysis of SELF and OTHER.

Finally, the framework of Appraisal Theory (Martin 2000, Martin and White 2005, White 2006) constitutes the basis of the critical analysis of evaluations. The theory states that it is possible to investigate how writers use lexical expressions to encode their attitude, i.e. evaluative stance, strategically in texts. The Appraisal Theory deals both with the *attitudinal positioning*, i.e. “meanings by which writers/speakers indicate either a positive or negative assessment of people, places, things, happenings and states of affairs”⁵ and dialogical positioning, i.e. ways “by which writers/speakers adopt evaluative positions towards what they represent as the views and statements of other speakers and writers, towards the propositions they represent” (ibid.) According to the Appraisal theory, Attitude of human beings can be investigated through the analysis of: 1) Affect (positive or negative characterisation of phenomena/human behaviour by reference to emotion), 2) Judgement (positive or negative evaluation of human behaviour with respect to social norms):

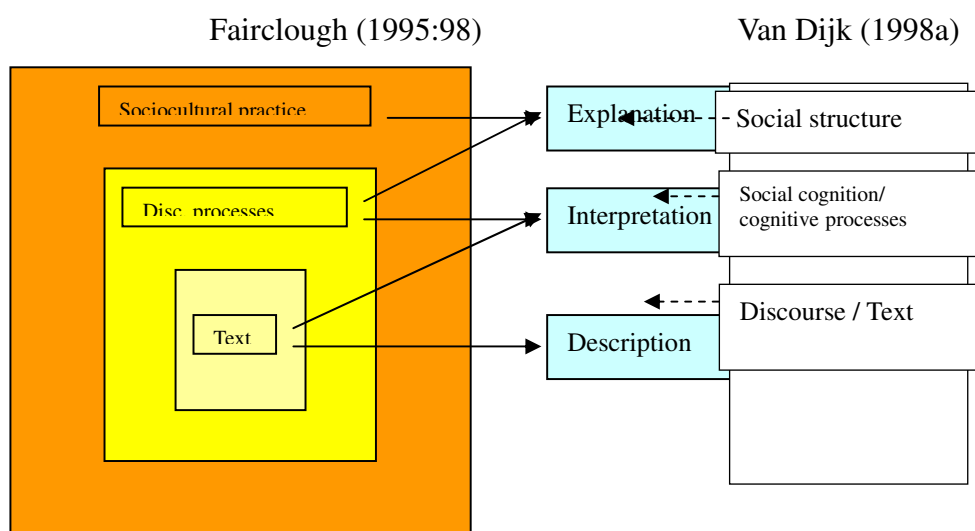


⁵ <http://www.grammatics.com/appraisal/AppraisalGuide/Framed/Frame.htm>, accessed on 23/06/2010

It is my endeavour to show that the above theories, i.e. Conceptual Blending Theory, Discourse Space Theory, Critical Metaphor Theory, Appraisal Theory and Sociosemantic Theory, can be complementary to each other in the investigation of textual and visual corpora during an extended time line.

Methodology

The methodology applied in this thesis is based on the principles of Critical Discourse Analysis. The following dimensions of discourse correspond to three stages of analysis:



The three stages have been applied in the discourse analysis as follows:

- Description is preceded by identification of the analyzed units. This stage requires particular attention due to a high degree of implicitness. Choice of discourse unit depends on the linguistic unit which is incorporated into meaningful discourse. The analyzed discourse unit can be represented by an individual lexeme, a collocation, a metaphoric expression, a clause, a suprasentential unit.
- Identification, description and interpretation involve the consideration of the socio-constructive role of the investigated strategy, and seek to explore the motives underlying the application

of this particular strategy.

- The top dimension 'Explanation' deals with the ideological and societal motivations and consequences of the particular strategy and explore its semantic, stylistic and conceptual dimensions as well as its relation to other discourses.

The exact methodologies have been described separately for each of the three empirical studies in the thesis as different corpora and objectives require a consideration of methods specific to each individual study.

Both statistical and qualitative methods have been applied to the analysis of the corpus during the research. The qualitative methods are indispensable in a discourse analytical study as both interpretation and explanation require a qualitative approach to the analyzed units. Statistical methods allow comparison of corpora of different size (Study 1) and to search for dominant versus secondary structures (Study 2). The choice of manual count over automated count can be justified by the size of the corpora, which are sufficiently observable for the non-automated analysis and the variability of linguistic instantiations.

Thesis Organization

The thesis is divided into three main parts: a critical literature review of modern theories of discourse and cognition, methodology and the discussion of empirical findings.

The literature review is divided into two chapters. Chapter 1 gives a brief description of the state of the art of discourse analysis. It establishes links between critical theory, modern linguistic science and Critical Discourse Analysis, explains major tenets of Critical Analysis, discusses perspectives on ideology and examines the theoretical concepts of ideology, media discourse, SELF and OTHER, representations, racism and ethnicism.

Chapter 2 deals with the development of the cognitive framework to the analysis of categories of SELF and OTHER. It describes such multi-

purpose cognitive tools as mental modelling, conceptual categorization and blending. The key concepts of cognitive semantics, e.g. conceptual metaphors and mental spaces, are regarded in light of their application to real discourse, such as discourse metaphors and discourse spaces.

Chapter 3 describes the corpus and explains the general methodology of corpus analysis.

The empirical part is subdivided into three chapters.

Chapter 4 presents results and discussion of the referential, categorizing and evaluative strategies used for SELF and OTHER representation in the Moderate and Radical Corpora. Section I of Chapter 4 deals with referential-categorizing and Section II of Chapter 4 with evaluative strategies. Parallel exemplification establishes links between the Moderate and Radical corpora in their use of reference and categorization which are further investigated in the analysis of evaluations.

Chapter 5 concentrates on the analysis of exclusively the Moderate corpus, albeit in its extended version. It strives to find out how reference, categorization and evaluation extend to mental imagery, and especially how particular image schemas, metaphorical blends and metonymies can assist pro-governmental discourse participants to proliferate ideologies. In this chapter, I chose not to compare the metaphorical SELF and OTHER representations in the Moderate and Radical corpora, because the analysis in Chapter 4 gives enough evidence of similarity of the radical and moderate strategies of SELF and OTHER representation. Besides, the number of metaphors representing SELF and OTHER discourse participants found in the Radical corpus turned out to be insignificant.

Chapter 6 deals with multimodal SELF and OTHER representations expressed during three street actions organized by the pro-governmental youth group “The Young Guard”.

The thesis ends with the Conclusion, including consideration of contributions to various fields and suggestions for future work.

Conventions

All Russian examples have been translated as closely to the original as possible. However, the most salient discourse units from the point of view of content have been provided in Russian in brackets. Examples in Chapter 5 have been given literal translation wherever possible to elucidate the understanding of conceptual imagery in Russian which may not be directly translatable into English. If an example in Russian is a part of the running text, the translation is given in inverted commas, e.g. россияне ‘Russian citizens’.

The ALA-LC romanization system has been used to transliterate Russian proper names. In the examples where the identification of SELF and OTHER discourse participants is required, the former are graphically marked through underlining, and the latter are graphically accentuated through the use of **bold font**. The cases with unresolved discursive ambiguity are marked in grey.

Contribution to Scholarship

The theoretical goal of this thesis is to develop a cognitively based approach to discourse analysis which involves a detailed investigation into the process of categorization and conceptualization at both the level of language use and the conceptual level, exploring conditions by means of which these processes are enacted at the discourse level, taking into consideration evaluation and multimodality.

Although migration discourse has stayed in the foreground of critical discourse analysts for over a decade now, Russian migration discourse has remained largely underexplored through Critical Discourse Analysis. The practical goal is therefore to apply this approach to a critical study of migration discourse in contemporary Russia.

The contributions of the thesis are the following:

- It brings together several strands of cognitively based accounts of language, such as the cognitive strand of Critical Discourse Analysis and Conceptual Blending Theory as applied to the analysis of an online corpus of texts.
- The investigation of SELF and OTHER representations is given a more solid theoretical grounding through the use of available approaches to cognitive modelling.
- The study of categorization and evaluation of discourse participants in pro-governmental media compiled in the Moderate Corpus and its comparison to the data from the Radical Corpus helps to understand the basis of categorization and evaluation and to identify whether the ideology is discriminatory towards migrants.
- The study of metaphors in Russian migration discourse compares Russian discourse metaphors to universal tendencies and outlines cultural specifics in the use of metaphors.
- The thesis combines the investigation of textual and visual material which are two indispensable components of contemporary media.
- The thesis gives an understanding of the contemporary Russian context of migration, attitudes to migrants and perceptions of SELF and OTHER discourse participants through the eyes of Russian journalists. The thesis aims to show how such attitudes and relations are reflected and constructed conceptually, linguistically and semiotically to produce recurrent discursive strategies of SELF and OTHER representation.

Offering such a synthetic approach through bringing them together may result in more useful or more applicable practical tools of analysis which can be used by other scholars.

1.1. Approaches to Discourse

Amongst various definitions and uses of the term “discourse”, two distinct paradigms are noticeable: a culturally (Foucault 1972, Bakhtin 1981, Bourdieu 1977, 1992) and a linguistically (Benveniste 1971, Sinclair and Coulthard 1992, Jaworski and Coupland 1999) oriented approach. The adherents of the first paradigm insist that their research is concerned with the “analysis of cultural form and activities in the context of the relation of power” (Bennett 1998:60). The description of language as cultural form, however, does not exclude the social nature of language and language use which has concerned linguists since the beginning of the “social turn” in language theory. The discussion of theoretical constructs from the field of cognitive linguistics assumes that a discourse-analytical analysis cannot be reduced to a merely linguistic component and should take culture into account. In what follows, I will discuss three approaches to discourse: a linguistic approach, a cultural approach and an integrational paradigm, which strives to reconcile both linguistic and cultural conceptions.

1.1.1. Discourse in Linguistic Paradigm

Let us firstly summarize linguistically oriented approaches to discourse. Schiffrin (1994) identifies several treatments of discourse arising from

- Speech Act Theory
- Interactional Sociolinguistics
- The Ethnography of Communication
- Pragmatics
- Conversation Analysis
- Variation Theory

A short summary of these several linguistically oriented theories in relation to the studying of discourse is presented in the table below:

<i>THEORY</i>	<i>AREA OF INTEREST</i>	<i>UNITS OF DISCOURSE</i>	<i>SCHOLARS</i>
Speech Act Theory	Language which is used to perform a range of actions indicated in the performance of utterance	Communicative speech acts, utterances	Austin (1962), Erler (2010)
Interactional Sociolinguistics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Cross-cultural communication - explanation of linguistic phenomena through social factors 	Conversation, texts, various linguistic phenomena	Gumperz (1982), Tannen (1982, 2006)
Ethnography of Communication	Language and communication as cultural artefacts, communicative competence	Everyday conversation, other culturally constructed speech events	Hymes (1974), Cameron (2001)
Pragmatics	Speaker's meaning, meaning of utterance	Individual utterances in a communicative or hypothetical context	Sperber & Wilson (1986), Carston (2002)
Conversation Analysis	Conversation, conversational turns	sequential structures	Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks (1977), Schegloff 2007

Variation Theory	Patterns of linguistic variation that can be discovered only through investigation of a speech community	structural categories in texts	Labov (1994, 2001)
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Table 1.1. Approaches to Discourse within Linguistic Paradigm

As becomes obvious after various approaches to discourse are compared, some of them profess a functional approach to discourse focusing more on language use rather than structural peculiarities, whereas other concentrate on discourse as a particular unit of language.

Speech Act Theory, which stems from language philosophy, constitutes a cornerstone of the above theories in that it found the means of structuring discourse by means of linguistic units, i.e. utterances. Following Speech Act Theory, pragmatics is mostly concerned with analysing the literal and non-literal meaning of utterances as well as the speaker's meaning at the level of the utterance, which is situated in a context including text as a linguistic context. On the whole, the term 'discourse' within the linguistic paradigm refers to linguistic structures above the level of the sentence, from opening or closing moves in a conversation to a piece of extended text or a conversation which has some internal coherence and is seen to be rule-governed and systematic (cf. Sinclair and Coulthard 1992).

Other linguists are more concerned with language in use (cf. Brown and Yule 1983) rather than the way in which language is structured as a system. More culturally and communication-oriented approaches within this paradigm emphasise the importance of interpersonal relations between the participants of a particular discourse. Schiffrin (1994) subdivides such approaches into two groups:

Some interactional approaches ... focus on how people from different cultures may share grammatical knowledge of a language, but differently contextualize what is said such that very different messages are produced. Other interactional approaches ... focus on how language is situated in particular circumstances of social life, and on how it adds (or reflects) different types of meaning ... and structure ... to those circumstances (Schiffrin 1994:7).

One of the first linguists to contemplate specifically the definition and essence of discourse and its communicative aspect was Emil Benveniste. According to Benveniste (1971),

... Discourse must be understood in its widest sense: every utterance assuming a speaker and a hearer, and, in the speaker, the intention of influencing the other in some way [...] It is every variety of oral discourse from trivial conversation to the most elaborate oration [...] but it is also the mass of writing that reproduces oral discourse or it borrows its manner of expression and its purposes: correspondence, memoirs, plays, didactic works, in short, all genres, in which someone addresses himself as the speaker and organizes what he says in the category of person (Benveniste 1971: 208-9).

Benveniste thus characterizes discourse as a domain of communication constructed through interpersonal relations between the speaker and the hearer. He quotes various genres of oral and written discourse and, what is more important, he outlines the speaker's intention of influencing the other discourse participant through discourse. Jaworski and Coupland (1999) support the above definition by outlining that discourse is "a form of collaborative social action" in which "language users jointly collaborate in the production of meanings and inferences as they communicate with each other in spoken and written discourse" (Jaworski and Coupland 1999:49).

If a scholar accumulates a large number of texts in order to investigate language in use, these texts usually have to be compiled and subsequently analyzed as a corpus. Then discourse can be seen as "a totality of texts produced by a given discourse community" (Teubert 2005).

However, it has to be noted that discourse in the abstract sense must be seen as a category that summarizes various semiotic elements of social

life, i.e. language but also visual semiosis⁶ (Fairclough et al. 2004). This is especially typical of critical approaches to discourse. Wodak (2001), for instance, defines discourse as

a complex bundle of simultaneous and sequential interrelated linguistic acts, which manifest themselves within and across social fields of action, and thematically interrelate semiotic, oral and written tokens, very often as texts, that belong to specific semiotic types, that is genre” (Wodak 2001:66).

This view is largely based on the work of Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996/2007) who insist that any discourse, especially media discourse, demonstrates intricate connections between all kinds of semiotic modes and the textual cannot be separated from the visual. Blommaert (2005) similarly underlines the importance of all semiotic modes by describing discourse as comprising “all forms of human semiotic activity seen in connection with social, cultural and historical patterns and developments of use” (Blommaert 2005:3). Language, notes Blommaert (ibid.), is only one manifestation of this activity whereas the last part of language-in-action can be expressed through objects, attribute and actions. Since the corpus compiled for this thesis contains both textual and visual material, it is worth investigating whether other concepts and methods offered by representatives of the critical discourse analysis school are suitable for this thesis.

In sum, the contemporary understanding of discourse, at least from a critical perspective, takes discourse out of a purely linguistic paradigm of language study and places it into a wider context, which is largely influenced by the understanding of discourse in cultural studies.

1.1.2. Discourse in the Cultural Paradigm

The cultural paradigm largely draws on the works of the French theorist Michel Foucault in search for the essence of discourse. Foucault places

⁶ Fairclough et al. (2004) use the notion of semiosis rather than discourse to refer in a general way to language and other semiotic modes such as visual image, and the term text, be they written, spoken or combine different semiotic modes.

discourse within a large body of knowledge and he treats it as "an entity of sequences of signs in that they are statements (*enoncés*)" (Foucault 1972: 141). He explains that a statement (*énoncé*) is an abstract item that enables signs to assign specific repeatable relations to objects, subjects and other statements (ibid.:140). Hence, discourse can be understood as an abstract entity constituting such repeatable relations to objects, subjects and other statements. Foucault (1980) argues that knowledge and power are interrelated and human relationships represent a struggle and negotiations of power. In his attempt to define discourse, Foucault remains rather oblique. He suggests that discourse can be treated "as sometimes the general domain of all statements, sometimes as an individualisable group of statements (*enoncés*), and sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a number of statements" (Foucault, 1972:80). I agree with Mills (1997) in the point that this definition contains, in effect, three distinct definitions of discourse. The first definition, *the general domain of all statements*, refers to, probably, the concept of discourse at a theoretical level (cf. Mills 1997:7). The second definition of discourse, *an individualisable group of statements*, is reminiscent of that suggested by linguistics, i.e. an extended piece of text which has internal coherence and is rule-governed and systematic. The third definition, *regulated practice that accounts for a number of statements*, in my view, focuses precisely on the rules and systems that produce or contribute to the production of these statements. I will continue the discussion of this third definition in the next section.

Other influential theorists who worked on discourse as a cultural phenomenon were Louis Althusser (1971) and Valentin Voloshinov (1973) and Mikhail Bakhtin (1981, 1984, 1986). MacDonell (1986) emphasises that it is the social nature of discourse and its situatedness in the social context which is central in the above perspectives. Hence, discourse is not an abstract and stable number of statements, but they are enacted in a social context. MacDonell specifically outlined the institutionalized nature of discourses which is noticeable in the works of all these theorists: "A discourse as a particular area of language use may be identified by the

institutions to which it relates and which it marks out for the speaker” (MacDonell 1986:3). A further aspect on which the aforementioned theorists show their agreement is that discourses are considered to be organized primarily around the practices of exclusion. Finally, MacDonell (ibid.:4) asserts that all definitions of discourse in the works of the aforementioned theorists state that “whatever signifies or has meaning can be considered part of discourse”. Meanings in discourses are not fixed, but they are constantly contested (Mills 1997:14).

One of the first of the aforementioned theorists to notice the social situatedness of language was Mikhail Bakhtin. He considered utterances or statements as fundamental aspects of language as a social phenomenon: “the actual reality of language/ speech is [...] the social event of verbal interaction implemented in an utterance or utterances” (Bakhtin 1986:95). Bakhtin emphasised the interpersonal dimension of utterance production by noticing that a verbal act “inevitably orients itself with respect to previous performances in the same sphere, both those by the same author and those by other authors” (ibid.:95).

This phenomenon, initially noticed and analyzed by Bakhtin, was explored further by Julie Kristeva under the notion of intertextuality. In her work on Bakhtin’s *Rablais and his World* entitled “Word, Dialogue and Novel” (1986), Kristeva reiterated that no text is original; rather, it contains references to and quotations from other texts. Trying to explicate the dialogic understanding of language in the novel, Kristeva introduced the concept of intertextuality, which assumes that discourse is formed against the background of what others have said or written before.

The view of meaning professed by the Voloshinov/Bakhtin school is that the social arena is what brings meaning to any utterance. Voloshinov explains that “meaning belongs to a word according to its position between speakers [...] Meaning is the effect of interaction between speaker and listener” (Voloshinov 1973:102). Apart from meaning, any utterance contains what Voloshinov calls *evaluative accent*, i.e. a value judgement, because in the social arena we evaluate everything on a regular basis.

However, when a specific word is transported into another context evaluative accent also changes. Bakhtin (1981) clarifies it poetically in the following way:

Any concrete discourse (utterance) finds an object at which it was directed already as it were overlain with qualifications, charged with value [...] The living utterance, having taken meaning and shape at a particular historical moment in a socially specific environment, cannot fail to brush up against thousands of living dialogic threads, woven by socio-ideological consciousness around the given object of an utterance (Bakhtin 1981:276)

Thus, Bakhtin sees discourse as implicitly dialogical, i.e. any utterance is produced against the background of what has been said or written before. Utterances are not only non-free from evaluation but they appear in a context that is not neutral from the perspective of ideology. Bakhtin introduces the concept of *social voices* to outline particular characteristic ways of language use. He defines such social voices as

... specific points of view on the world, forms for conceptualizing the world in words, specific worldviews, each characterized by its own objects, meanings and values. As such, they may be all juxtaposed to one another, mutually supplement one another, contradict one another, and be interrelated dialogically (ibid:291-2).

Bakhtin explains the presence of other voices in the text through the term *heteroglossia*: “Heteroglossia, [...] is another’s speech in another’s language, serving to express authorial intentions but in a refracted way” (ibid.:324). Bakhtin believes that groups of people construct and present their verbal-ideological world views through discourses, and in these discourses words from other discourses are selectively assimilated, which is reflected in the term *dialogically*. Thus, defining different types of discourse, Bakhtin (1984) differentiates between monological, or *single-voiced* discourse, and dialogical, *double-voiced* discourse. In the single-voiced discourse, the sole orientation of the speaker is to the self. For, instance, discourse of a represented person is single-voiced discourse. By contrast, double-voiced discourse is “discourse with orientation to someone

else's discourse" (Bakhtin 1984:199). For example, Bakhtin regards the type of discourse in quotation marks as double-voiced. According to Bakhtin, the author uses "someone else's discourse for his own purposes by inserting a new semantic intention into the discourse which already has, and retains, an intention of its own" (Bakhtin 1984:189). This latter type of discourse has been termed as *represented discourse* and it has been used, for instance, for the analysis of political interviews (see Johansson 2006)

I am going to appropriate some of the above concepts, specifically the concept of voice and represented discourse, for the analysis of my corpus. Further on, I will show how the analysis of voices, ideology and cognitive frameworks can be interconnected in the analysis of SELF and OTHER representation in discourse on migration.

1.1.3. Discourse and Social Practice: Integrational paradigm

I would now like to turn to the third definition of discourse by Foucault, who sees it as a regulated practice governed by certain rules and organized in a systemic way (Foucault, 1972:80). Language can be certainly seen as such a regulated social practice and studied as such, which is the understanding of language professed now in Ethnomethodological Conversation Analysis, Interactional Sociolinguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis, amongst other strands of linguistics which deal with language in use. I would now like to compare two positions concerning a critical approach to discourse which rest on Foucauldian assumptions.

Van Leeuwen (2008) describes discourse as recontextualized social practice, using the term *recontextualization* introduced by Bernstein (1990). In his work "Discourse and Practice" (2008), Van Leeuwen explains that the primacy of practice has for a long time been at heart of Western sociologists. For instance, he quotes Bourdieu's "The Outline of a Theory of Practice" (1977), in which the primacy of practice and the fundamental difference between participant knowledge and outsider knowledge is elaborated. It is true that linguists have gradually found it "difficult to conceptualize the

production and interpretation of texts without recourse to experience, to “world knowledge” (e.g. Schank and Abelson 1977), or background knowledge (Levinson 1983)...” (Van Leeuwen 2008:5). Van Leeuwen insists that a difference should be made between social practices and the representation of social practices; there is “a difference between “doing it” and “talking about it” (ibid.). For Van Leeuwen, “social practices are socially regulated ways of doing things”, and discourses are “socially specific ways of knowing such practices” (2008:6). In a purpose-collected corpus, all the texts are supposed to “represent the same social practice, or some aspect of it” (ibid). The distinction between social practices and the representation of social practices is crucial, as this thesis deals not with migration discourse directly, but with how certain aspects of it, i.e. its participants, are represented by the media and through the media.

Ultimately, discourses have to do with knowledge. However, as Foucault (1972, 1977) observed, knowledge and power can be equated, and “the definition of a legitimate perspective for the agent of knowledge” (Foucault 1977:132) is as essential as the definition of “a field of objects”.

The definition of discourses by Kress and Van Leeuwen as “socially constructed knowledges of (some aspect of) reality ... developed in specific social contexts and in ways which are appropriate to the interests of the social actors in these contexts” (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2001:4) emphasises at least some elements of social practices that are worth focusing on:

- participants and their relation to each other (“social actors”)
- activities of participants in relation to each other (engendered by “interests”)
- time and place of the practice (“specific social contexts”).

Van Leeuwen summarizes his discussion on the elements of social practice in “Discourse and Practice” by giving an inventory of such elements. In the following table, they are compared to the elements of discourse suggested by Fairclough (2003):

Van Leeuwen (2008)	Fairclough (2003)
<p>participants</p> <p>actions, eligibility conditions</p> <p>tools and materials, location</p> <p>performance modes,</p> <p>presentation, style (dress and body grooming requirements)</p>	<p>persons (with beliefs, attitudes, histories)</p> <p>action and interaction, social relations</p> <p>material world</p> <p>semiosis</p>

Table 1.2. Elements of social practice (after Van Leeuwen 2008 and Fairclough 2003)

We can see that the two positions are broadly in accordance with each other. Both Van Leeuwen and Fairclough convincingly and at length show the importance of these elements, demonstrating that any analysis of discourse(s) which is directed toward (a) specific social practice(s) should reflect on the role, representation and interaction of these elements.

Any of these elements of social practice, according to Van Leeuwen, can be recontextualized into verbal and visual representations by means of various *transformations*, e.g. substitutions, deletions, rearrangements and additions, such as repetitions, reactions, purposes, (de)legitimations and evaluations. However, Van Leeuwen seems to background the role of language as a part of social practice whereas Fairclough prioritizes language by saying in his programmatic work “Language and Power” that discourse is “language as social practice determined by social structures” (Fairclough 2001:14). Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) note that “all practices have an irreducible discursive aspect [...] in the sense that all practices involve the use of language to some degree.” (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999: 26).

Discourse, for Fairclough, as for Bakhtin and Foucault, is not neutral and it refers to power relations in society. Turning to power, Fairclough clarifies that “...we can say that power in discourse is to do with powerful participants controlling and constraining the contributions of non-powerful participants” (ibid.: 38-39). Hence, participants are shown to have different statuses within discourse due to their different access to power. The difference between more and less powerful discourse participants is precisely what makes Fairclough's definitions relevant to the study of migration discourse, in which migrants can be seen as less powerful discourse participants.

For Fairclough, power is closely linked to ideologies

...because the nature of the ideological assumptions is embedded in particular conventions, and so the nature of those conventions themselves, depends on the power relations which underlie the conventions; and because they are a means of legitimizing existing social relations and differences in power (ibid: 2)

Thus, analysing ideologies inevitably leads us to the analysis of power, or as Blommaert (2005) reinterprets it, the analysis of power effects, i.e. the outcome of power. As ideology appears to be one of the organizing principles for discourses in general, and for migration discourse, in particular, I will continue to discuss ideology in Section 1.3.

Working definition of discourse

Resting on the above positions we can conclude that the definition of discourse can be formulated from two perspectives:

1. Discourse is socially constructed knowledge developed in a specific socio-cultural context and containing various elements, such as participants and their relations, their actions towards the external world and interaction amongst each other, and various ways of performance, presentation and identification, and it is realized in many different semiotic forms, out of which language, i.e. linguistic forms of expression, is the most important. In

some discourses, such as migration discourse, powerful participants exercise power in various ways, for example, through ideological assumptions.

2. Discourse as a regulated systematic practice manifests itself in a variety of discourses (with a small d), i.e. statements produced according to some rules, which are expressed verbally or visually through texts and pictures. Such verbal and visual discourses can be collected in a corpus and analyzed with regard to their generalized and particularized features.

In this thesis, I am using a synthesised definition of discourse. I refer to discourse as a communicative event developed in a specific socio-cultural context and containing various elements, amongst which are discourse participants and their relations and interaction amongst each other, and various ways of representation and identification. It is realized in many different semiotic forms, out of which linguistic forms of expression, is the most important. Discourse manifests itself in a variety of statements produced according to some rules, which are expressed verbally or visually through texts and pictures.

In addition, I suggest the term discourse participants instead of the terms social actors (Van Leeuwen 1996) or social subjects (Fairclough 1989, 1995) in order to emphasise the discourse-analytical nature of my analysis.

1.2. Discourse Analysis

1.2.1. Principles of DA

Similarly to the concept of discourse, discourse analysis is understood differently by scholars from different fields. Respectively, discourse analysis can deal with a) language in use (linguistic paradigm), b) social practice that includes non-linguistic instances of language (cultural paradigm), and c) linguistic and non-linguistic social practices and ideological assumptions that construct a phenomenon under analysis (critical approach represented by an integrational paradigm).

Regardless of their research field, scholars using discourse analysis tend

to adhere to the following features of discourse and text:

a) Cohesion and Coherence

Newmark (1988: 54) explains that the main concepts of discourse are “cohesion, i.e. the features that bind sentences to each other grammatically and lexically” and “coherence which is the notional and logical unity of a text.” A coherent text is "a text whose constituent parts (episodes, sentences) are meaningfully related so that the text as a whole ‘makes sense’, even though there may be relatively few markers..."(Fairclough 1992: 83). Cohesiveness or cohesion refers to "how clauses are linked together into sentences, and how sentences are, in their turn, linked together to form larger units in texts" (Fairclough 1992: 77). This can be achieved by repetition, conjunctive words, near-synonyms or vocabulary from a common semantic field. Cohesion deals with the textual aspect of discourse.

b) Context and Co-text

Contextual knowledge includes social, political and cultural understandings that are relevant to the particular communication (cf. Paltridge 2006). A situation forms the basis of the context. It follows that context and text are two inseparable aspects that work together to constitute discourse. Context, i.e. situational context, is different from co-textual context (Brown and Yule 1983, Halliday 1985), which constrains the interpretation of specific lexical forms occurring in a text. For example, the feature of anaphoric reference generally depends crucially on co-text for interpretation (Brown and Yule 1983:49). However, in the context of migration discourse sometimes it is only situational context along with its components such as participants which allow for the interpretation of 1st and 3rd person pronouns (Bishop and Jaworski 2003).

c) Intertextuality

Intertextuality has also to be seen as an essential quality of discourse. As noted by Kristeva (1986) cited earlier in this thesis, texts contain references

to and quotations from other texts. We can include references to previous situations, statements (verbal or visual), and background knowledge to extend the definition of intertextuality, or references to other discourses, which is implied by the term interdiscursivity.

d) The importance of the unsaid

Finally, doing discourse analysis we have to consider what has been left unsaid between the speaker/ writer and hearer/ reader, which is expressed through the pragmatic notions of implicature, presupposition and inference (Brown and Yule 1983). These concepts are used to indicate relationships between discourse participants and elements in the discourse, and, of course, they are closely tied to the context in which the discourse occurs. Fairclough (1995) identifies presupposition, i.e. the implied, as a specific feature typical of media discourse. Van Dijk (1998b) stresses the importance of the unsaid by stating that not only lexicogrammatical resources but also implications and presuppositions have to be considered while doing discourse analysis of media texts. Surely, this can be applied to other texts not related to the media discourse. Nevertheless, media discourse seems to be prolific in the use of presuppositions, which has to be kept in mind during its analysis. It is also important to understand the role of the media in the proliferation of ideologies (see Section 1.2.5).

1.2.2. Critical Discourse Analysis

1.2.2.1. Main Tenets and Objectives

Critical Linguistics (Kress and Hodge 1979, Fowler 1981) has transformed the linguistic understanding of discourse by applying the notion of discourse to the analysis of specific statements in socio-political contexts of language use and of specific linguistic devices through which these statements are structured. Having engaged themselves primarily with media discourse, critical linguists concentrated primarily on grammatical structures or

nominalizations. Increasingly, issues concerning language and socio-political context started being investigated within broader theories concerning discourse, power and ideology.

Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 271-280) offer several foundational principles for CDA. Firstly, CDA always addresses social problems. Wodak and Meyer state that “CDA is not interested in investigating a linguistic unit per se, but in studying social phenomena (Wodak and Meyer, 2001:2).

Secondly, discourse constitutes society and culture, and is constituted by them. This dialectic relationship between discourse and society is a cornerstone of CDA.

Thirdly, discourse does ideological work: representing and constructing society by reproducing unequal relations of power. Wodak sums up the aims of CDA as being “*to investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, signalled, constituted, legitimized and so on by language use* (in: Wodak and Meyer 2001:2)”. A constructionist approach implies that reality is not fixed but constructed through interactions, i.e. construction of an identity implies that various contributions modify the meaning of specific characterizations used to talk about identities. The key constructionist concept is a shared system of meanings: “People communicate to interpret events and to share those with others. For this reason it is believed that reality is constructed socially as a product of communication. [. . .] Our meanings and understandings arise from our communication with others” (Littlejohn 1992: 190-1).

Fourthly, discourse is historical and is connected to previous, contemporary and subsequent discourses. In this respect, the principle of heteroglossia or intertextuality is applied to demonstrate the interconnectedness of discourses and their mutual influence on each other.

Finally, discourse analysis is interpretive and explanatory and implies a systematic methodology and an investigation of context. This distinguishes a CDA approach from a traditional linguistic descriptive approach when linguistic phenomena are identified and described but no connection between the linguistic item and sociocultural context is

established.

Originating in Critical Linguistics, the discipline of Critical Discourse Analysis now combines several strands, which, apart from a critical linguistics strand, include sociocultural (Fairclough 1995, Wodak 2001) and sociocognitive (Lakoff 1990, Van Dijk 1998a, Chilton 2004, Charteris-Black 2006, Hart & Lukes 2007) approaches. At its earlier stages, CDA often failed to take issue within theoretical debates concerning certain linguistic phenomena, i.e. metaphors, presuppositions, indirectness, categorization etc. In the best case, these phenomena were merely identified, described and explained using the well-trodden path of theories in cognitive linguistics and political communication. Nowadays, the scholars applying a sociocognitive approach in their analyses of discourse touch upon various issues raised in cognitive semantics (Chilton 2004, Hart 2005) and they apply the methodology of these fields to the analysis of political issues.

1.2.2.2. Voice as object of critique

The concepts that Bakhtin suggested for critical literary theory, such as the concept of voice, have gained frequency in the studies of various types of discourse, e.g. education and political communication, including Russian discourse (see Gorham 2003).

Blommaert (2005:4-5) suggests that a critical investigation of discourse is the analysis of voice. Blommaert (ibid.) broadly redefines the voice as the way in which people manage to get themselves understood drawing upon or deploying various discursive means, which they have to use in contexts with specified conditions of use. He insists that the analysis of voice is the analysis of power effects, being understood as a set of sociocultural norms and the conditions for power, i.e. what it takes to make oneself understood. Blommaert emphasises that this object of investigation is only partially linguistic in nature.

The idea of voice as an object of critique is applied to the analysis of corpora in this thesis in the following way. Since this study is restricted by

the use of analytical tools, specific governmental policies do not belong to the primary object of critique. It is my sincere conviction that such policies not only construct but also reflect, i.e. represent, the ideologies which are constituted by mental frameworks. The origins of these mental frameworks should be investigated through a historical or neurocognitive approach, whereas specific policies should be critiqued by political analysts. The voices critically assessed in this thesis are those through which representations of SELF and OTHER discourse participants are mediated. These are the voices of newspapers, journalists, authorities and experts, but also ordinary discourse participants and eventually, the resources which represent these voices.

1.2.2.3. Epistemic-Methodological Limitations in CDA

One of the major claims of Critical Discourse Analysis is

not just describing discursive practices, but also showing how discourse is shaped by relations of power and ideologies, and the constructive effects discourse has upon social identities, neither of which is normally apparent to discourse participants" (Fairclough, 1992:12).

However, this tenet cannot be used unreservedly. Firstly, the problem of subjectivity of CDA research, which was identified by Widdowson as early as in 1998, often leads to "the careful selection and particular interpretation of whatever linguistic features suit their own ideological position and disregarding the rest." (Widdowson 1998:146). He goes on to say that, for instance, Van Dijk in his analysis of racism merely confirms his own prejudice "controlling our access to the text by imposing his own discourse upon it" (ibid.:143). Widdowson's position calls to mind a deterministic view of knowledge and reality presented by positivism which has been under severe criticism since the 1980s, gradually giving way to more

constructivist interpretations of reality⁷.

Van Leeuwen (2005) criticizes the 'centralist' approach in which powerful methodologies have been developed while some areas of the grand theories have been neglected, such as the notion of 'context of culture' in systemic functional linguistics. He argues for an interdisciplinary problem-oriented rather than method-oriented approach which allows several equally valued disciplines to be drawn into a research project in the analysis of a specific discursive occasion. However, Van Leeuwen (2008:23-24) in his analysis of social actors' representation while drawing on his own sociosemantic inventory recognizes that sociological and linguistic categories such as agency/ patiency are used interchangeably in critical discourse analysis. Departing from Halliday's linguistic definition of grammatical agent and patient, he ascribes them meanings of a sociological agent and patient. He asserts that, albeit "there is no near fit between sociological and linguistic categories" (ibid.) and criticizes CDA for tying itself too closely to specific linguistic categories.

Weiss and Wodak (2003) discussed this issue earlier in their debate in the volume on theory and interdisciplinarity of CDA inspired by a CDA conference in Vienna in July 2000. In their view, the main problem of the new theory is rooted precisely in its multidisciplinary origin. On the one hand, plurality of theories and methodologies will allow for the removal of constraints and for freedom of choice for researchers opting for CDA. This characteristic has yet to prove its productivity in empirical applicability. On the other hand, "an eclecticism marked by incoherent and unrelated concepts and categories" (Weiss and Wodak, 2003: 9) complicates the operationalization of the basic theoretical assumptions regarding discourse, institutions and social structure. In line with postmodernist thinking, Weiss and Wodak (2003) criticize the endeavour of some scholars to create another grand theory out of CDA in the absence of fully developed conceptual tools and analytical categories. A further problem for CDA as an emerging theory is that the incorporation of poststructuralist theories by Foucault, Derrida

⁷ Positivists claim that theory must be neutral and concerned with the discovery of pre-existing facts in an independent external world.

and Barthes and concepts from domains as various as political theory, i.e. *ideology*, *hegemony* or *racism*, or from critical theory, i.e. *communicative action* or *ideal speech situation*, raised the problem of *Horizontgebundenheit* (Weiss & Wodak 2003). Thus, Wodak states that the term *representation* denotes something different depending on whether it is used in the sociological, i.e. representation as standing for a political party or group, cognitive, i.e. shared frame of reference for communication (see cognitive structures shared by a group as in “social representations” studied by Van Dijk 1998), or semantic theories, i.e. a linguistic unit manifesting meaning (Wodak 2006: 181). The dependence of some categories on “different horizons”⁸ in different disciplines made the conceptual apparatus of CDA rather fuzzy and ill-defined. An argument in defence of the critical approach is that having emerged in poststructuralist, postmodernist times it incorporated many of the features of its time, such as eclecticism. Eclecticism does not hold rigidly to a single paradigm or set of assumptions, but instead draws upon multiple theories, styles, or ideas to gain complementary insights into a subject. There are many “fuzzy-boundary” concepts that CDA adopts in its emerging conceptual paradigm from other approaches, schools and traditions, i.e. identities, prejudices or discrimination. They are all meant to mediate between text and social structures, but often fail to do so.

A further aspect of subjectivity refers to the critical faculty of discourse analysis. After all, being critical means disapproving of a particular aspect of reality, or a particular ideology, or particular ways of multimodal expression of ideologies as “not right” from the point of view of a particular value system. Such a value system can be “anti-capitalist” (Fairclough) or “anti-racist” (Wodak, Van Dijk) or any other anti-discriminatory ideology based on the Western democracy value system. Ironically, Van Dijk (1998b) writes in his paper on ideologies in the

⁸ One and the same concept may undergo semantic transformation not only in an interdisciplinary debate, but also interculturally. See Wodak & Reisigl (2001:32-35) commenting on the variety of the interpretations of the concept of racism between disciplines.

press:”...ideologies, in general, are not wrong or right, but rather more or less effective in promoting the interests of a group” (Van Dijk 1998b:24). Whereas the second point in fact hits the nail on the head with most CDA studies, I believe that, for the reasons outlined above, it is impossible to achieve total objectivity with respect to the ideological practices analyzed.

The dissemination of critical awareness for which CDA aims (Fairclough 1995) differs from suggesting emancipatory actions and societal change. Moreover, the application of a specific theoretical apparatus to some contemporary socio-political issues depends on the final goals of those instrumentalizing this particular theory.⁹

This thesis aims to offer a more elaborate description, interpretation and explanation of characteristics of SELF and OTHER discourse participants in discourse on migration. However, rather than looking for entities “out there” and claiming that a proposition is true or false with respect to people, objects and events, I concentrate on a representational approach to language, meaning and reality. In doing this, I do not pretend to answer the question of what is absolutely true. Instead, I focus my attention on individuals who match representation of reality derived from utterances produced by other individuals to their own representation of reality derived via perception. Thus, I support the critical theory view of language as opposed to the positivist view, since critical theory accepts the existence of subjective reality and emphasises the role of the researcher in the construction of knowledge. The analytical framework presented later in Chapter 3 classifies categories investigated as related to their specific disciplines where such a relation is identifiable in order to avoid some accusations outlined by Weiss and Wodak (2003).

1.2.2.4. Language functions and Meaning Construction

As noted previously, discourse analysis can have a structural or a functional orientation. Functional orientation that arises from Jacobson’s (1936) six

⁹ Consider the abuse of Darwin’s theory of evolution in the Third Reich.

functions of language is governed by the assumption that utterances and, subsequently, larger stretches of discourse may have multiple functions. Systemic Functional Linguistics (Halliday 1985) is informed by such a view of discourse. Some approaches, such as Critical Discourse Analysis, have taken this functional approach as a theoretical base for their purposes.

Brown and Yule (1983: 1) note that "the analysis of discourse, is necessarily, the analysis of language in use. As such, it cannot be restricted to the descriptions of linguistic forms independent of the purposes or functions which these forms are designed to serve in human affairs". In their view, a language fulfils two major functions. The function which can be described as the expression of content is called transactional. The function which is involved in expressing social relations and personal attitudes is called interactional (ibid.).

Most of the researchers adopting a CDA framework for the analysis of various aspects of discourse consider the multifunctional view of language (Halliday 1985) as one of its theoretical and practical strengths. Multifunctionality expresses itself in the simultaneous representation of various cognitive entities, representation and construction of social identities and relations and selection of specific discourse strategies.

Halliday (ibid.) calls attention to the following three metafunctions of language expressed in any text: interpersonal, ideational and textual, i.e. language construes ideational, interpersonal and textual meaning. These functions are elaborated in Table 1.3 where they are compared to the components of the socio-cognitive analysis by van Dijk (1998a) and Fairclough's mainstream CDA theory:

Systemic Functional Grammar (Halliday 1985)			Socio-cognitive Approach CDA (Van Dijk 1998a)	Mainstream CDA (Fairclough 1992, 1995)
Function of language	Description of function	Semantic component	Socio(Cognitive) component	
Ideational	Language conveys representational meaning	Propositional content	Construction and replication of mental structures/ models	Contextual Level Representation and construction of the world
Interpersonal	Clause is organized as interactive event where participants are assigned roles	Speech functions, expression of attitude etc.	Construction and replication of social relations and identities	Interpersonal Level Construction of social relations, identities, assertion of power
Textual	“Creating relevance to context”, form of organization (providing cohesion to the text)	Text as a message and the importance of its organization for meaning construction	Discourse structures and strategies that replicate ideologies and constitute and regulate social relations	Textual Level Selection of discursive strategies, higher-level textual properties, such as production and interpretation of texts

Table 1.3. Multifunctional view of language (after Halliday 1985, Van Dijk 1998a and Fairclough 1992, 1995)

The model represented in Table 1.3 has been extensively used in CDA, one of whose tenets is close relationship of the three aspects above as three major constitutive elements of socio-cultural practices. However, the equilibrium in the representation of the three aspects during CDA analyses is only rarely sustained.

The ideational function of language is expressed in the representation of facts, events and experiences at the cognitive level of language users. Halliday (1985), in line with the view adopted in logic and philosophy of language, claims that propositional content is the way of the cognitive organization of experiential information. ideational function can be seen as a useful addition to Chafe's (1970) ideational theory of language, which claims that the ideas, or concepts, are real entities in a human's cognition at the deep level and they can be transferred from the cognition of one individual to another individual by means of linguistic expressions at the surface level.

In its interpersonal function, language is responsible for the constitution and negotiation of interpersonal identities and relations. This function is expressed in the organization of an utterance or text as a specific interactive event.

Textual function sees any text as an actualized meaning potential and argues for the importance of its internal organization. The textual function emphasises the context-boundedness of the text, i.e. "how the clause relates to the surrounding discourse and to the context of situation in which it is being produced" (Halliday 1985:309). For Fairclough (1995), the analysis goes far beyond the interpretation of textual aspects, such as grammar, vocabulary or generic textual structures. He emphasises that a discourse analyst should also be concerned with higher level discursive properties, such as production, distribution and transformation, consumption and the condition of the discourse practice. Fairclough (ibid.) also incorporates a

semiotic tenet of discourse, such as photographic and non-verbal communication. Findings from the interpretation of the combination of textual features and discursive features help to explain their relationship dialectically with the opaque sociocultural practice in discourse.

All CDA approaches adhere to the tenet of meaning potential which is one of the key theoretical concepts in functional linguistics. Functional linguistics holds that language is a communicatively-based system of meaning-making possibilities and these possibilities are instantiated by individual texts (cf. Halliday and Matthiesen 1999). However, individual texts exploit only some options. Particular settings for various aspects of social context, e.g. social roles and relationships of discourse participants involved in communication, the nature of texts and the domain of human activity, condition which meanings are likely to be chosen in a specific text (cf. White 2006). Configurations of these aspects of social context tend to recur and can be studied as stylistic similarities arising due to consistencies in the power relations between discourse participants which is termed registers in the Systemic Functional Linguistics. Nevertheless, despite the thesis of the meaning-making potential of texts, meanings are ultimately contingent upon reader/listener interpretation which includes background assumptions, and various types of knowledge, opinions and value systems, amongst other aspects.

1.2.3. Meaning in Media Discourse

Fairclough, analysing media discourse in his later work (see, for example, Fairclough 2006), explains the meaning potential in media texts through the term *mediation*. Quoting Silverstone (1999:13), Fairclough defines mediation as “the movement of meaning” and he comments on the following aspects of meaning in media discourse:

- meanings move from text to text and they are open to transformation which is contingent upon the nature of the events and texts into which mediated meanings move;

- mediated meanings enter the process of meaning-making as part of the resources of meaning making;
- the resources for meaning-making can include concrete representations of specific events in particular texts, i.e. news reports, and regular ways of representing such events;
- media texts are related to other sorts of texts and to other media texts.

(after Fairclough 2006:23)

Fairclough thus points at the intertextual and interdiscursive potential of media texts emphasising the potential of meaning negotiation through media texts. Media texts are “a class of texts which are specialised for moving resources for meaning-making between texts, and more abstractly between different social practices, fields, domains and scales of social life”. (Fairclough 2006:23). Ideologies embody resources for meaning-making and media texts instantiate these ideologies by drawing on specific genres, discourses and styles and articulating them (ibid.25).

Fairclough maintains that an important feature of media texts is their organization in chains or networks of texts which connect events, including events which are removed from each other in time and space (ibid.:26). The notion of *genre chains* (Fairclough 2003) assumes that genres which are regularly and predictably chained together such that meanings are moved and transformed along the chain and recontextualized and transformed along the chain according with recontextualizing principles. An example of a genre chain can be the chain that routinely links significant governmental statements of publications, press statements and news reports.

The principle of recontextualization has already been mentioned earlier in this Chapter in relation to Van Leeuwen’s (2008) understanding of discourse. Specifying processes of recontextualization in terms of genre chains, Fairclough (2006:26) outlines the principle of selectivity, which controls which meanings are moved from one field to another, and internal relations within the recontextualizing field, which control how

recontextualized meanings are articulated in relation to existing meanings. In sum, Fairclough suggests that meanings in media texts are articulated on the basis of existing meanings and such transformations are regulated by internal and external principles. Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999:41) proposes that media discourse as the type of language used in the media can be such a recontextualizing principle for appropriating other discourses. Eventually, as Fairclough (2006:28) points out, such relations are seen as obtaining durable and stable networks of social practices, or *social fields* (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992).

1.3. Ideology in migration discourse

CDA deals with ideology as one of its core concepts which are constantly formed and reshaped by new discourses and interdiscursive dynamics. CDA holds that discourse is both “socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned” (Fairclough and Wodak 1997:258). It reflects ideology and it shapes social cognitions, i.e. the relationship between discourse and ideology is dialectic (Fairclough 2001). In this section, I would like to outline some ways in which ideology is understood within CDA approaches.

1.3.1. Approaches to ideology in CDA

I pointed out in the previous section that Fairclough sees ideologies as embodying resources for meaning-making. More specifically, Fairclough (1992) maintains that ideology “is a construction of reality which contributes to the production, reproduction or transformation of relations of domination” (Fairclough 1992:87). Fairclough believes that “to show that meanings are working ideologically it is necessary to show that they do indeed serve relations of domination in particular cases.” (Fairclough 1995: 14). Thus, relations of domination are reflected in the production of discriminatory language, which is a matter of a primary concern to Fairclough. He further asserts that ideologies are reflected in language through “propositions that generally figure as implicit assumptions in texts”

(ibid.), i.e. presuppositions. The issue of implicitness is of paramount importance for Fairclough because “the ideologies are most effective when they become naturalized and achieve a status of common sense” (ibid.). Fairclough’s ideas reflect a position on ideology accepted by many thinkers working in the Marxist tradition.¹⁰ White (2006), who applies a critical analytical framework to the analysis of evaluative language, confirms that implicit evaluative assumptions about states, events and discourse participants are expressed through what he calls attitudinal tokens, which appear as a powerful ideological tool. However, we are left unclear how such assumptions are formed at a cognitive level.

Van Dijk (1998a) supports Fairclough’s (1992, 1995) understanding of ideology as a specific construction of reality that is connected with domination. In his view, ideology is connected with power and control. A socio-cognitive model suggested by Van Dijk (1998a) attempts to explain the connection between ideologies, which can be manifested in ‘language of hate’, such as racist language, stereotypes and prejudices. His explanation of racism draws on the theory of mental models (Johnson-Laird 1980), which allows him to link cognition, language (discourse) and social behaviour (social practices). While a more substantial discussion on the role of the conceptual system in the promotion of ideology will take place in Chapter 2, it is worth outlining major tenets of Van Dijk’s approach in this introductory section on ideology.

Van Dijk’s work, emerging from a formal linguistic approach to text comprehension (Van Dijk 1980, Van Dijk & Kintsch 1983), focuses on mental schemas, which convey ideologies through stereotypes, opinions and attitudes. In line with the standard model of memory in psychology, Van Dijk links semantic memory to stable social constructs, episodic memory to personal experiences and working memory to the online processing of discourse. Although he grounds his theory in the neo-Marxist conception of domination, Van Dijk departs from the idea of social classes as the

¹⁰ For instance, in a sociologically-oriented study of ideology, the Marxist thinker Walsby (1947) refers to the main ideas underlying any ideology as logically implied, taken-for-granted cognitive assumptions.

dominating or oppressed political actors and concentrates on the ideologies as “the basis of the social representations shared by members of a group.” (Van Dijk 1998a:8) The concept of *social representations* (Moscovici 1988) as organized clusters or socially shared beliefs is borrowed from the domain of social psychology. Van Dijk’s interest in social representations makes him assume that cognitive frameworks of individuals and social groups are organized through opinions, i.e. *evaluative beliefs*, of individuals and social opinions which are shared by the members of a group or institution (Van Dijk 1996). In his framework, he asserts that ideologies organize attitudes, i.e. complex structures of opinions. Eventually, these opinions and attitudes form a basis of knowledge: “Knowledge [...] is a specific sociocultural form of beliefs, viz. those that are held to be true by a speaker or a community, because they can be justified by sociocultural criteria of truth” (ibid:9). In his thinking, Van Dijk is very close to Bakhtin’s statement that discourses are never value-free. One of the important observations made by Van Dijk with respect to ideology and cognition is the schematic organization of ideologies, which consist of a number of characteristic categories (van Dijk 1998a:57). He takes a schematic approach to the structuring of discourse, which, as he himself admits, lacks the more dynamic dimension needed to account for the construction, uses or changes in such categories. Distinguishing between positive and negative ideologies, Van Dijk identifies ideology as social cognitions shared by the members of a group which can be expressed, construed or legitimated by discourse. Amongst negative ideologies, Van Dijk quotes ethnicism as an example of a racist ideology¹¹. Thus, the aforementioned understanding of ideology corresponds with the view professed by Blommaert and Verschueren who define ideology as “any constellation of fundamental or commonsensical, and often normative ideas and attitudes related to some aspects of social reality” (Blommaert and Verschueren, 1998:25).

According to Van Dijk, ideologies are

¹¹ See a discussion on the terminological differences between ethnicism and racism further in this chapter.

the interface between the cognitive representations and processes underlying discourse and action, on the one hand, and the societal position and interests and social groups, on the other hand...As systems of principles that organize social cognitions, ideologies are assumed to control, through the minds of the members, the social reproduction of the group. Ideologies mentally represent the basic social characteristics of a group, such as their identity, tasks, goals, norms, values, position and resources. (Van Dijk 1995:18)

Van Dijk's (1995) definition is very similar to that of Hall (1996). Hall replaces the notion of 'cognitive representations' with the notion of 'mental frameworks':

By ideology I mean the mental frameworks – the languages, the concepts, categories, imagery of thought, and the systems of representation which [...] are used by social groups in order to make sense of, figure out and render intelligible the way society works. (Hall 1996:26)

Although coming from the critical cultural school of thought, Hall espouses an explicitly cognitive orientation which is conveyed through the expression “mental frameworks”. It is particularly important that Hall emphasises the role of concepts, categories and imagery of thought in his definition, as he suggests that ideology seems to be about conceptualization. This corresponds to the idea expressed by the cognitive linguist George Lakoff, who adopted a cognitive framework to study ideologies through the study of metaphors: “ideology is a conceptual system of a particular kind” (Lakoff 1996:36).

Charteris-Black (2004, 2006, 2009) is also interested in the role of metaphors with respect to ideology. Charteris-Black (2009) capitalizes on the role of social groups in the construction of ideologies and links meaning which constitutes the essence of ideologies to the aims of the formation of group identities and a specific discursive strategy of self-legitimization:

An ideology is a set of meanings through which a particular group is able to form and sustain itself; it therefore serves to create group identity by establishing and reinforcing shared meanings within the

group and by communicating this group identity to others as an act of self-legitimization. (Charteris-Black 2009:99)

As we see, the issue of establishing and expressing a group identity represents a social function of ideology in both Van Dijk (1995) and Charteris-Black (2009). However, according to Charteris-Black (ibid.), ideologies not only represent but also create group identities and can be expressed through various aspects of mental imagery, i.e. metaphor. Charteris-Black (2009) notices that these sets of meanings “can relate either to politics or to religion, or to any form of social activity” (Charteris-Black 2009:100). In his view, metaphor, as an example of imagery of thought, is one of the most important linguistic, cognitive and symbolic devices that can be employed for communicating ideology. He goes on to say that in political communication the conscious use of metaphors can lead to a construction and proliferation of a subconscious *myth*, which embodies a set of beliefs and has a strong persuasive power (ibid.). Charteris-Black emphasises that positive and negative evaluations arising from unconscious associations may be communicated by semiotic means other than language, e.g. photographs, clothes, political posters and short film excerpts (ibid.:101).

Working definition of ideology

In my view, the definition of ideology given by Van Dijk (1995) most accurately reflects the essence of ideology. I would like to reproduce the most important part of this definition again. Ideology is

the interface between the cognitive representations and processes underlying discourse and action, on the one hand, and the societal position and interests and social groups, on the other hand... Ideologies mentally represent the basic social characteristics of a group, such as their identity, tasks, goals, norms, values, position and resources. (Van Dijk 1995:18)

This definition closely reflects the approach chosen for the analysis of SELF

and OTHER representations as it considers the triangulation of cognitive and social elements, such as cognitive representations, interests, identities, norms and values.

1.3.2. On the use of the term *racism*

Migration discourse is studied within a CDA-based framework from the point of view of the presence of racist practices. Traditionally, racism is understood as a historically specific ideological construction which is generally associated with an overt and violent form of social domination. However, racism is a contentious term; it has been subjected to intense discussions in modern social sciences and there is no commonly acknowledged definition of the term.

Van Dijk (1998a) gives an overview of such discussion distinguishing “genetic”, “cultural”, “institutional”, “elite”, “positive” and “differentialist” racism. He assumes that racism is both an ideology of a syncretic kind, i.e. mixtum compositum of different pseudoscientific doctrines, religious beliefs and stereotypical opinions, and a discriminatory social practice exercised by the hegemonic social groups (ibid:35). Thus, his definition reflects the interpretation of racism as *cultural racism* (Barker 1981). It emphasises cultural otherness rather than genetic differences or the idea of psychic and physical inequality of human races. Van Dijk suggests in a later work that racism is based on the hierarchical construction of groups of persons who are attributed specific “traits primarily related to biological features, appearance, cultural practices, customs, traditions or culturally stigmatized ancestors” (Van Dijk 1999:35).

In his earlier work entitled “Racism and the Press”, Van Dijk (1991) noted that his understanding of racism is based on the conflation of the two terms: racism and ethnicism, as well as different forms of ethnicism, e.g. anti-Semitism. He asserts that “racism is being transformed into ethnicism,” because the latter is seen as “morally less reprehensible” than the former. Consequently, abandoning what he terms “a dual or even multiple set of

basic theoretical terms," van Dijk employs the term racism "in a more general sense, as it also has become adopted in political contexts of resistance, denoting both racism in the strict sense as well as various forms of ethnicism" (Van Dijk 1991:26).

Since the cognitive basis of both racism and ethnicism is seen to be rooted in prejudice, Mitten and Wodak (1993) see such change of nomenclature as redundant. They comment: "Why, [...], ought "ethnicism" be viewed as "morally less reprehensible" than "racism"? (Mitten and Wodak 1993:3-4). They argue that Van Dijk "has been unable to demonstrate how his generic category "racism" does or would have an analytical value equal or superior to the competing discrete notions of ethnic and/or racial prejudice" (ibid.).

Both approaches, however, assume that racism and ethnicism necessarily display negative prejudices about ethnic stereotypes, whereas Siegfried Jäger (1991) defines racism as

the genetically determined or culturally determined differences which one sees, or believes one can see, which characterize the members of minorities. **Generally these are seen to be negative, occasionally positive** (the emphasis is mine – EP), and this evaluation is made from a position of power derived from belonging to a majority. (Jäger 1991: 4)

Jäger, thus, introduces the idea of power-based use of language which is employed by majorities to characterize the members of minorities, and these characterizations are not necessarily negative. Nevertheless, he also prefers the use of the term racism abandoning the difference between racism and ethnicism as unnecessary.

In my view, the differentiation between racism and ethnicism concerns the evaluative aspect of representations. I prefer to turn to the traditional differentiation of racism and ethnicism as two different ideologies in political sciences.¹² The reason for keeping the terms racism

¹² Traditionally, political science distinguishes between ethnic nationalism or ethnoculturalism as a part of ideology of nationalism (cf. Heywood 2003 "Political Ideologies", Smith 1988 "Ethnic origins of nations, 2001 "Nationalism") whereas

and ethnicism under separate labels is a strong negative evaluative connotation of the former. On the other hand, ethnicism, by definition, concerns discourses of ethnicity, i.e. belonging to an ethnic group (cf. Kellas 1998). Ethnicity, according to Heywood (2003), is a complex term “because it has both racial and cultural overtones [...] Even when ethnicity is understood in strictly cultural terms, it operates at a deep emotional level and highlights values, traditions and practices that give a people a sense of distinctiveness” (Heywood 2003:168). The term race, on the other hand, reflects a belief in biological or genetic differences amongst human beings (ibid: 231).

In political studies, the term ethnicism is used without a definition by a number of scholars, while the term ethnocentrism is what is seen as ideology (Kedourie 1993, Breuilly 1993, Kellas 1998). Ethnocentrism is first discussed by William Sumner (1906) upon his observation of the tendency for people to differentiate between the in-group and others on ethnic grounds. He described it as often leading to beliefs of one's own group's superiority, and antipathy towards outsiders. Kellas says that ethnocentrism “is essentially concerned with an individual's psychological biases towards his/her ethnic group and against other ethnic groups” (Kellas 1998:6). He emphasises that favourable attitudes are held about the ‘ingroup’ and unfavourable one about the ‘outgroup’. As Kellas suggests, the term ethnocentrism can be related to ‘nationalism’ and ‘racism’ but its focus is strictly on the individual's relationship with an ethnic group rather than with a nation or a race (ibid.).

Since in the corpus it is very often unclear what is actually kept in mind, I will use the term racism/ racist to characterize any purely negatively-laden discourse on ethnicities. I will use the term ethnicism where such evaluation can also be neutral or positive.

1.4. SELF and OTHER representations in migration discourse

racism is part of the ideology of racialism or racist ideology (Heywood 2003, Fredrickson 2002 “Racism: a short history”).

1.4.1. SELF and OTHER as participants of social practices

Since my work deals with the representations of SELF and OTHER, I feel bound to establish from the outset what these labels mean. In critical discourse studies, there seems to be no unity in the description of discourse participants. We saw earlier in this chapter that both Van Leeuwen (2008), who uses the term “social actors”, and Fairclough (2003), who uses the term “social subjects”, regard discourse participants as essential elements of social practice. Their treatment of discourse participants is similar but also differs in some points which I would like to outline below.

Van Leeuwen claims that through discourse, social actors constitute knowledge, situations, social roles as well as identities and interpersonal relations between various social groups. He distinguishes between two types of actions that social actors produce: material action, i.e. what the actors are doing, and semiotic action, i.e. speech acts (Van Leeuwen 2008: 155). These are the ideas behind his sociosemiotic approach to the discourse analysis of media. Van Leeuwen’s research sometimes includes studies of social actors who have unequal positions in a discourse of a specific type but it is not a precondition of his interest. The research on the strategies of representation of social actors makes Van Leeuwen (2008) conclude that such representations in the media are chosen from a network of strategies that are based on various categorizing criteria.¹³

Fairclough’s (1989) vision of social subjects and their interpersonal/ intersubjective relations is closely related to ideology which is based on the work of Althusser (1971). Althusser asserts that the category of the subject is constitutive of all ideology and he claims that ideology interpellates individuals as subjects thus outlining a reciprocal relationship between subjects and ideology.

I shall then suggest that ideology ‘acts’ or ‘functions’ in such a way that it ‘recruits’ subjects among individuals (it recruits them all), or

¹³ See Appendix 1 for the inventory of the social actors network strategies.

‘transforms’ individuals into subjects (it transforms them all) by that very precise operation which I have called *interpellation* or hailing” (Althusser 1971).

Fairclough (ibid.) introduces several notions into discourse analysis which originate in Althusser of which the notions of subject positions and naturalization are the most important. The idea of subject positions is explained by Fairclough (ibid.) in the following way: “*social subjects are constrained to operate within the subject positions set up in discourse types*” (ibid.: 39) and “...the socialization of people involves them coming to be placed in a range of subject positions...each discourse type establishes its particular set of subject positions, which those who operate within it are constrained to occupy ” (ibid.:102). He points out the creativity and activity of social subjects because to him “being constrained is a precondition for being enabled.” (ibid.) Another important concept that stems from Althusser is “obviousness” or “naturalization” in Fairclough’s terms. Fairclough explains that

the naturalization of the meanings of words is an effective way of constraining the contents of discourse, and, in the long term, knowledge and beliefs...The naturalization of subject positions self-evidently constrains subjects and in the long term both contributes to the socialization of persons and to the delimitation of the ‘stock’ of social identities in a given institution or society (Fairclough 1989:105)

This effect of the naturalization of meanings is similar to what Bourdieu (1977) refers to in his concept of *doxa*, i.e. deeply founded, unconscious beliefs, and values, taken as self-evident universals, that inform an agent's actions and thoughts. In the cognitive linguistics that deals with on-line discourse processing, this effect echoes with the effect of the cognitive operation of entrenchment that will be described in Chapter 2.

The idea that discourse participants have different roles with respect to social dominance in social practices is essential to most CDA-based studies. It is also important in this work because the discussion on migration discourse presupposes more socially dominant participants with access to

symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1992), such as politicians, journalists or those who describe themselves or are described as “local population” and less powerful participants, such as migrants or persons without citizenship or those of a different ethnic origin from that of the majority of socially dominant participants, i.e. non-Russians. I thus label the socially dominant category of discourse participants as SELF and the less powerful category of discourse participants as OTHER. In section 1.4.3, a more detailed description of these categories will be given.

1.4.2. SELF and OTHER as in- and out-group members

The ways in which the Russian media polarize the representation of SELF and OTHER have to be addressed within a broader context of othering as a sociocultural phenomenon.

Classical and more modern sociological theories put forward the assumption that the concept of SELF is closely intertwined with that of the OTHER. Social Comparison Theory suggests that people compare themselves with others to evaluate their abilities, opinions and characteristics (Festinger 1954). The modern development of this theory identifies motives that are relevant to comparison which include self-enhancement, perceptions of relative standing, maintenance of a positive self-evaluation and components of attributes (Suls, Martin, & Wheeler 2002).

The sociocultural approach suggests that SELF and OTHER construction occurs within structured social contexts or *social fields* (Bourdieu 1984). Through the mediation of their actions, interactions and ideas these individuals contribute to the construction of social spaces from which they adapt some elements to represent themselves (see Athanasou and Esbroeck 2008). Some of these elements are essential for the SELF and OTHER construction, i.e. attributes that describe groups and individuals which are situated in structured social spaces.

Social Identity Theory (Tajfel 1981) assumes that political discourse

is part of collective social action where the participating actors represent groups with their norms, values, beliefs and ideologies. The individual patterns of perception aligned with group memberships and non-memberships tend to favour their in-group norms and values and derogate other-group perceptions.

The dichotomy of in- and out-group representation in migration discourse is incorporated into two types of ideological discourse typically labelled *patriotism* and/or *nationalism* (Viroli 1995). Both concepts are based on the construct of the *nation* (Anderson 1983), which is crucial to the construction and representation of in/out-groups. Anderson shows how any national culture has been constructed from local customs and traditions, but the sets of national icons and myths have been continuously restructured and reflect the results of identity politics, rather than representing certain primordial ethnic attributes (see also Smith 1991). According to Anderson, the process of the SELF construction within a nation is inextricably linked to categorising the OTHER and defining borders in terms of real and social geography¹⁴. The evocation of the concept of a nation is a prominent feature of migration discourse in contemporary Russia. It manifests in the myths of the uniqueness of the nation and rejection of the concept of multiculturalism in favour of ethnocentrism to a certain extent (cf. Zvereva 2007). Hence, those who openly demonstrate a different national identity or threaten to penetrate the *imagined communities* (Anderson 1983) are perceived as a menace and ascribed negative values.

Different ideas on nation and nationalism have been introduced by Anthony D. Smith who is the leading expert in the study of ethnicity and nationalism. His central thesis is that modern nations cannot be understood without taking pre-existing ethnic components into account, and it follows that the rise of contemporary nations should be studied in the context of their ethnic background (Smith 1986:17). For Smith, the answer to the question who the nation is should be found in earlier ethnic communities, or

¹⁴ The appearance of OTHER characterizations such as *выходцы с Кавказа, кавказцы, лица кавказской национальности* in contemporary Russian migration discourse reflects this phenomenon of “defining borders” at the level of language use.

ethnies (Smith 1991). Similarly to Anderson (1983), Smith identifies one of the key terms in his definition of nation as identity. Identity means 'sameness', i.e. the members of a particular group are alike in those respects in which they differ from non-members (ibid.:74). Like other political scientists dealing with nations, ethnicities and nationalism, Smith underlines the importance of self-definition both for a nation and an *ethnie*, which is expressed in the growth of a sense of 'we' as opposed to 'them', i.e. 'us' versus 'outsiders' (Smith 2004:16-18).

Bhabha (1990), in his analysis of identity from the perspective of modern postcolonial studies, has demonstrated that the concept of imagined community is undergoing redefinition:

“The very concepts of homogenous national cultures, the consensual or contiguous transmission of historical traditions, or 'organic' ethnic communities - as the grounds of cultural comparativism - are in a profound process of redefinition.[...] This side of the psychosis of patriotic fervour, I like to think, there is overwhelming evidence of a more transnational and translational sense of the hybridity of imagined communities.” (Bhabha 1990:300)

Bhabha emphasises the role of the people on the 'margins' of the nations, i.e. ethnic minorities, foreign workers and migrants, in the process of definition of national identities. According to him, such 'hybrid' populations can contest the dominant constructions of the nations by producing their own narratives.

Hall (1996) points out that the process of globalisation, which the world has been undergoing in the last couple of decades, creates favourable circumstances for cultural hybridization. In comparison to traditional societies, where subject positions were relatively stable, modern societies are increasingly characterized by a large number of varied subject positions.

Wodak et al. (1999/2009:16) compare such multiple subject positions with multiple identities that are characterized by belonging to more than one collective group or system. They label the idea of a homogeneous "pure" individual or collective identity as "*a deceptive fiction and illusion*" (ibid.). A member of a society, in their view, has a large

number of sources of identification, and, depending on the context and situation, composes his or her *multiple identity*.

Commenting on ethnicity studies, Eller and Coughlan (1993) suggest that the recent studies provide a compelling case for seeing ethnicity as a “socially constructed, variable definition of self and other, whose existence and meaning is continuously negotiated, revised and revitalized” (Nagel 1991, cited in: Eller and Coughlan 1993:188). It is from this position that ethnicity and identities within contemporary Russia as a nation-state will be explored in this thesis.

1.4.3. Dichotomization of SELF and OTHER in contemporary Russian migration discourse

As the preliminary analysis of the corpora demonstrates, the dichotomized representation of SELF and OTHER participants can be found throughout the corpora. Through dichotomic positioning, SELF and OTHER representations capture the interpersonal relations constructed by social subjects:

- (1.1) At the same time, the **migrant** [мигрант] rarely wants to join the Moscow community [московское общество], and he perceives the local population [местных жителей] as an instrument for the achievement of his goals. (Moderate Corpus, Tverskaia, 13, 9.11.2006)
- (1.2) However, the closure of the casino with million-strong transactions and the affirmation of the fact that in these establishments, the money of **the Georgian mafia bosses** [грузинских «воров в законе»] is being laundered, even with the consideration of the above, appears as a very brave, if not to say a radical step. Evidently, such measures cannot but elicit positive reactions with any Russian patriot and an advocate of a strong state [любого русского патриота и государственника]. (Radical Corpus, 09.10.2006)

Contrasting SELF and OTHER is a standard way of representing the

interpersonal relationships in migration discourse in most texts of the corpus. Very often the bipolar dichotomy of the participants' description can be identified at the clause or supra-clause level both at the propositional level and the level of usage, i.e.:

Ex	Discourse unit	Part of complex proposition expressing SELF/OTHER categorization ¹⁵
(1.3)	A lion's share of <u>the Russian citizens</u> [Львиная доля <u>россиян</u>], discontent with the stranglehold of the foreigners in the markets [недовольных засильем иностранцев на рынках], are just these people. (MC, Profil, 16.10.2006)	$\exists x \exists y$ (x(Львиная доля россиян,) & x(недовольных засильем иностранцев на рынках), y(иностранцев))
(1.4)	The unceasing current of migrants (Непрекращающийся поток мигрантов) more and more often causes a negative reaction of <u>the native Muscovites</u> [<u>коренных москвичей</u>], which manifests in xenophobia, nationalism and neo-fascism [выливается в проявления ксенофобии, национализма и неофашизма]. (MC, Tverskaia, 13, 9.11.2006)	$\exists y \exists x$ (y(Непрекращающийся поток мигрантов) & y(вызывает негативную реакцию), x(коренные москвичи) & x(проявляют ксенофобию, национализм и неофашизм))
(1.5)	...the borders of the new Russia remained open and foreign migrants started pouring in like currents [хлынули уже потоки иностраннных мигрантов]. Initially, this situation was regulated by <u>the local authorities</u> [<u>местные власти</u> брали на себя функции учета и регистрации], (MC, Rossiiskaia gazeta, 10.11.2006)	$\exists y \exists x$ (y(потоки иностранных мигрантов) & y(хлынули в Россию), x(местные власти) & x(брали на себя функции учета и регистрации))

¹⁵ The notation of propositional logic is used to illustrate the examples in the table, in which the symbol \exists stands for the existential quantifier "there exists"; the symbol & stands for "and"; x and y stand for agents.

Examples (1.3) and (1.4) contrast the SELF discourse referents россияне 'Russian citizens', коренные москвичи 'native Muscovites' with the OTHER discourse participants инородцев 'outsiders', мигранты 'migrants' within one clause. In Example (1.5) the SELF discourse participants местные власти 'local authorities' appear as antagonists of the OTHER discourse participants иностранные мигранты 'foreign migrants'. In Example (1.3) SELF discourse participants are characterized through their negative attitude towards migrants as недовольные засильем инородцев на рынках 'discontent with the dominance of the outsiders in the markets'. In Examples (1.4) and (1.5) OTHER discourse participants are characterized in terms of metaphors of current. Whereas the attitude of SELF discourse participants is inscribed in the phrase поток мигрантов все чаще вызывает негативную реакцию 'the current of migrants causes a negative reaction more and more often', the negative feelings of fear are only alluded to through the verb in the phrase хлынули уже потоки иностранных мигрантов 'the currents of foreign migrants have poured in masses'.

It is not unusual in texts which criticize the authorities for the lack of action towards immigration as in Example (1.5) to introduce the authorities of the Russian Federation as an intermediary between the autochthonous population and migrants:

(1.6) 28% of Russian citizens [28% россиян] have admitted their personal antipathy towards **the people of other ethnicities** [к **людям других национальностей**]. Furthermore, every third respondent [каждый третий из числа респондентов] who notes the presence of people of other ethnicities [**приезжих других национальностей**] in their town or village, states that certain confrontations and conflicts exist between **them** [**ними**] and the locals [местными]. Furthermore, only 7% of the respondents [7% опрошенных] say that their local authorities [местные власти] are doing something for the resolution of these conflicts, whereas the majority (three times more) respondents [большая доля респондентов] state that the authorities [власти] are being inactive. (Radical Corpus, 18.09.2006)

Example (1.6) demonstrates that in the beginning of the discourse unit a dichotomic representation of the concept SELF-OTHER is constructed

through the contrast of the Russian population and the people of other nationalities. When the discourse develops, a critical attitude towards local authorities splits the category of SELF into less authoritative discourse participants респонденты 'respondents' and more authoritative discourse participants местные власти 'local authorities' while the latter undermine expectations of the former власти бездействуют 'the authorities are being inactive'. Thus, a preliminary conclusion can be made that SELF-OTHER representations are based on a gradient scale rather than binary categories from the point of evaluation.

An interesting effect is created by the use of the socio-political term россияне 'Russian citizens' used in a dichotomic pair, the other element of which clearly and unambiguously implies ethnicity of OTHER discourse participants both in Example (1.3) and (1.5). In Example (1.3) россияне 'Russian citizens' experience negative feelings towards инородцы 'persons of a different tribe/ foreign origin', i.e. the representation of OTHER discourse participants is based on focusing on kinship-identities, i.e. generalized ethnonational groups as kinship groups in the sense used by Smith (1988, 1991, 2001), Horowitz (1985), Connor (1994) and other scholars of ethnonationalism. Connor (1994:74-75) emphasises the importance of the emotional/ psychological dimension not enjoyed by essentially functional or juridical groupings. Therefore, I can suggest that россияне 'Russian citizens' in Example (1.3) are represented not from the socio-political point of view, but as a more or less endogamous group, i.e. in ethnocentric terms.

Example (1.6) demonstrates a similar effect when россияне 'Russian citizens' are contrasted with люди других национальностей 'persons of other ethnicities'.

This preliminary analysis shows some possible areas of research on which I will focus in the following chapters: categorization, binary representations, metaphors from various source domains, implicit meanings, evaluation etc. My next section deals more closely with the notion of representations before proceeding with a discussion on conceptualization in

migration discourse in Chapter 2.

1.4.4. The notion of representations

The notion of representations is central in CDA approaches. For instance, Fairclough (1995) asserts that “any part of any text (from the media or from elsewhere) will be simultaneously representing, setting up identities, and setting up relations” (Fairclough 1995:5). He suggests that ideologies are “representations which contribute to the constitution, reproduction and transformation of social relations of power and domination” (Fairclough 2006:23). Fairclough pays attention to the role and choice of representations without explaining their essence:

Whenever one representation is selected over other available ones, or whenever identities or relations are constructed in one way rather than other, the questions can be asked: a) what are the social origins of the option? [...] b) what motivations are there for making this choice? C) what is the effect of this choice [...]? (Fairclough 1995:15).

An attempt to explain the notion of representation is undertaken by Van Dijk (1998a) in his volume on ideology. Social representations as organized clusters or socially shared beliefs serve as a basis of ideologies, according to Van Dijk (*ibid.*), and these are mediated through text and context (see the earlier section on Ideology).

Chilton (2004:48-50) explains that the preoccupation with the representational approach stems from the fact that linguistic approaches within CDA are oriented towards representational semantics rather than denotational/ referential semantics. Whereas denotational semantics is concerned with theorising links between linguistic symbols and entities ‘out there’ in an objective world, the representational semantic approach is concerned with interpretations of mental representations. During this process, according to Chilton (*ibid.*), individuals are matching logical forms derived interpretively from utterances produced by others, to their mental representation of reality derived by perception. Such mental representations

are a collective product, asserts Chilton echoing Van Dijk (1998a). Collective, intersubjective cross-checking via linguistic and other interaction among individuals contributes to whatever representations are entertained, and circulated, by individuals, as Chilton suggests (Chilton 2004:50).

Representational theory of mind states that mental representations can be defined in terms of mental states experienced with respect to semantic properties of the former¹⁶. Mental states can express propositional attitudes (beliefs, desires, fears, regrets etc.) or any other kinds of attitudes, beliefs and opinions about represented objects or states. The representational content may be expressed through expressions of natural language or drawings, paintings and photographs, i.e. it can be non-conceptual.¹⁷ The content of representations is typically taken to be abstract objects (properties, relations etc.).

In the context of the philosophical discussions on mental representations it can be concluded that participants of discourse can be represented by other participants of discourse through mental representations which are accessible through linguistic expressions or visual imagery. These mental representations concern some properties of the represented discourse participants. Moreover, linguistic and extralinguistic expressions referring to mental states can reveal the attitudes of the former about the latter. Hence, social interaction between discourse participants, such as SELF and OTHER discourse participants, can be explained in terms of mental representations.

Technically, representations which are analyzed in this thesis, are representations of representations, or *metarepresentations*. In order to avoid confusion with the understanding of metarepresentations in psychology (Dennett 1998) or cognitive science (Von Eckhardt 1999), I prefer to use the term *representation* which includes representations by journalists of other

¹⁶ All information referring to the Representational theory of mind is derived from the entry entitled "Mental representation" in "Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy", First published Thu Mar 30, 2000; revised Jul 21, 2008, <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/mental-representation/>, accessed on 9.06.2009

¹⁷ This principle becomes one of the major tenets of Multimodal Discourse Analysis explained in more detail in Chapter 6.

people's mental frameworks, i.e. ideologies and opinions, referring to certain aspects of SELF and OTHER. I would also like to avoid the relevance-theoretic paradigm where metarepresentations are seen as representations of attributed expressions (Sperber 2000). Instead, for this second use of representations, I will use the Bakhtinian term *represented discourse* in the analysis of speeches and interviews rendered by the media.

1.5. Conclusions

Chapter 1 serves to introduce the state-of-the-art debate in the area of Discourse Analysis and to give a critical assessment and evaluation of existing theories and approaches. To sum up, two paradigms deal with discourse as an object of scientific enquiry. One can identify culturally and linguistically oriented approaches that belong to either the cultural or the linguistic paradigm. The approach adopted for this thesis is integrationist. It suggests that social practices are discursively shaped and structured by various elements. Using the terminology of systemic-functional linguistics, the ideational level is presented by SELF and OTHER representations which express certain ideologies. At the interpersonal level, the interpersonal relations between SELF and OTHER discourse participants lie at the base of the migration discourse analysis. Finally, access to the textual level gives the analysis semiotic instantiations of SELF and OTHER representations.

A definition of ideology offered by Van Dijk (1995) is used as a working definition in this thesis. It is informed by the idea that ideologies mentally represent basic social characteristics of a group, such as their identity, tasks, goals, norms, values, position and resources.

I have introduced the notion of SELF and OTHER representations to show the cognitive basis of ideologies. I will further explore the conceptual underpinnings of SELF and OTHER representations in Chapter 2, which deals with conceptualization in migration discourse. Specifically, it will be shown how SELF and OTHER can be treated from the position of cognitive

linguistics as cognitive identity frames which appear as constitutive parts of larger knowledge structures, such as mental spaces, conceptual blends etc. Thus, the socio-cognitive approach presented in this thesis is different from the well-established Van Dijkian approach as it concentrates on the representation of discourse participants through cognitive micro-structures rather than offering a comprehensive cognitive modelling approach.

Conceptualizing and categorizing SELF and OTHER in migration discourse

This chapter will deal in more detail with three alternative cognitive approaches to Van Dijk's approach described in Chapter 1. It can be argued that these approaches can offer different theoretical foundations to our discussion on SELF and OTHER as mental concepts. One of these approaches is called Critical Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black 2004), and it helps to identify the types of cognitive metaphors through which SELF and OTHER discourse participants are represented. The theoretical framework which this thesis builds is, however, represented by a development of Conceptual Metaphor Theory on which Charteris-Black and other critical discourse analysts base their theoretical framework for the analysis of metaphors, i.e. Conceptual Blending Theory developed by Fauconnier and Turner (2002). As pointed out by Chilton (2004), Conceptual Blending Theory can offer a more up-to-date theoretical and explanatory basis from which to explain cognitive mechanisms of discourse processing during the representation of SELF and OTHER discourse participants.

This chapter is also concerned with developing a cognitively-based framework for the analysis of the concepts of SELF and OTHER. A combination of cognitive linguistic (Barsalou 1992) and a sociosemantic (Van Leeuwen 1996, 2008) approach helps to identify the conceptual foundations of these ideological concepts.

Finally, the theory of discourse space developed by Chilton (2004) is explained and it is demonstrated how this theoretical approach can account for interpersonal relations between SELF and OTHER in migration discourse.

2.1. Key concepts of cognitive semantics

2.1.1. Frames

It is generally assumed in cognitive linguistics that long-term or background knowledge is based on schemata or scripts (Schank and Abelson 1977), scenarios (Schank 1986), frames (Fillmore 1985) or domains (Langacker 1987). Commenting on the use of the aforementioned concepts in CDA, Fairclough (1985) explains that *schema*¹⁸ as a representation of a particular type of activity in terms of predictable elements in a predictable sequence, can construct or reflect a mental representation of larger-scale textual structures and represent modes of social behaviour.

Theorists who have attempted to identify structural properties of schemata have identified that similar structural properties are proposed for *frames*. Frames, originally based on Minsky's (1977) definition from artificial intelligence, can be thought of as conceptual structures representing coherent regions of human knowledge (Croft and Cruse 2004: 8). They arise from the conceptualization of situation types which involve specific slots for actors, their relationship to each other, actions, places, times, properties etc., whose values vary across applications (cf. Chiarniak and Dermott 1985). The properties are defined by cultural knowledge about, for instance, status, value, physical appearance or specify prototypical roles in relation to other entities. Certain properties of frames specify prototypical roles in relation to other entities, for example, whether a participant is acting as an agent or experiencing a sensation. Chilton (2004:51) suggests that the meanings of the verbs *kill*, *assassinate* and *execute* can be defined in terms of stored mental frames in which different types of actors fill the agent and the victim role, the killing is legal or not legal, and other kinds of social and political background knowledge is involved.

Frames are appropriated by critical discourse analysts as they

¹⁸ The original theory of schemata is attributed to Bartlett (1932)

represent entities that populate the natural and social world. Representation of a topic, subject matter or referent (a woman, a teacher or a politician) within an activity involves discourse-specific frames (cf. Fairclough 1989:158). It is reasonable to assume that SELF and OTHER participants in migration discourse can be conceptually represented through frames.

2.1.2. Mental spaces and discourse spaces

According to Croft and Cruse (2004:32), semantic frames represent one of the two organizing principles of the conceptual structure the other one being mental spaces. The notion of mental spaces originates in Fauconnier's work on the human's conceptual structure (Fauconnier 1985, 1997, Fauconnier and Turner 2002). Mental spaces are defined as "small conceptual packets constructed as we think and talk, for purposes of local understanding and action" (Fauconnier and Turner 2002:40). Events, states and entities can be construed in a *base space* representing reality, i.e. the mutually known world of interlocutors, or in a *built space* by means of various elements described by Fauconnier as *space builders*, for example, deictic expressions including pronouns, temporal or modal expressions. There is a mapping of elements found in each space, i.e. identity and analogy mapping, and roles and values specific to a single mental space have to be connected to their counterparts in a built space through mappings which must be established cognitively by interlocutors (Croft and Cruse 2004:34). Mental spaces operate by activating structures from long-term memory, such as semantic frames; moreover, mental spaces are organized by frames, e.g. the frame COMMERCIAL TRANSACTION organizes the mental space entitled Commercial Transaction. Mental spaces can also be organized on the basis of conceptual domains or immediate experience and they can be entrenched in the long-term memory.

As discourse unfolds, an array of mental spaces can be constructed into complexes of mental spaces. Chilton (2004) uses the term *discourse spaces* to define such conceptual structures in discourse. Introducing the

notion of discourse space based on Werth's (1999)¹⁹ *discourse/text world*, he offers a formalized version of Werth's Text World Theory. Hart (2007), who applies Chilton's theoretical constructs to the analysis of some aspects of the British immigration discourse, notes that "where mental spaces are the conceptual structures which facilitate the discourse process, a discourse space is a representation of the narrative constructed in the discourse." (Hart 2007:117). It seems that whereas Werth clearly distinguishes between discourse and text²⁰, Chilton applies the term discourse when he actually analyzes a text. Similarly to Fauconnier, Chilton (2004), following Werth (1999), uses the notion of space-builders, which are various deictic elements, temporal or modal expressions etc. Chilton's discourse space is established by a coherent chain of propositions in discourse and is entertained by the speaker/ writer as "real". In his view, overall discourse coherence is achieved by the recurrence of, and links between, different referents of the discourse world. Subsequently, he develops a device that "filters out" the linguistic expressions that establish the recurring discourse participants and prompt for their thematic roles and relations.

Later in this chapter, we will observe how Fauconnier's concept of mental spaces and Chilton's concept of discourse spaces are represented in specific theoretical frameworks that can be applied to the analysis of migration discourse.

2.1.3. Image schemas

Linguists (Lakoff 1987, Johnson 1987, Lakoff and Turner 1989) and psychologists (Mandler 2004) assert that human minds use so-called *image schemas* that arise from the interaction between the body and its physical

¹⁹ Werth (1999) identifies two levels of discourse calling the representation of the immediate situation, i.e. the situational context surrounding the speech event itself, the *discourse world*, and the conceptual domain jointly constructed by producer and recipient, the *text world*.

²⁰ According to Werth (1999), unlike discourse world, the text world is the situation *depicted* by the discourse world, which is further fed by the experiences of participants or by speculations created by participants.

environment. This interaction is reflected in the principle of *embodied cognition* (Johnson 1987).

Image schemas are defined by Johnson (ibid.) as pre-conceptual abstract knowledge structures based on recurrent patterns of experience. Although this definition appears similar to that of frames and schemata, all these knowledge structures have different compositions. For instance, the image schema of path involves structural elements such as starting points, endpoint, path and directedness towards the endpoint. Container has three key elements: interior (with a centre and periphery, boundary surface and exterior).

The most important image schemas include representations of:

- bounded space (container schema)
- motion (path schema, can also be connected to container schema)
- vertical orientation (up-down schema)
- force (image schemas of restraint, counterforce, blockage etc.)
- unity/ multiplicity (part-and-whole-schema) etc.

(after Croft and Cruse 2004:45)

Cognitive linguists assume that spatial representations play an important role in cognition and language, coding special meanings of all kinds, including social structures and relations (cf. Chilton 2004, 2009, Hart and Lukes 2008).

Image schemas have been shown to lie at the heart of many metaphorical constructions (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999). Chilton (1996:50-55) identified four basic image schemas for the conceptualization of security in political discourse: Container, Path or Journey, Force and Link. One of the image schemas that has been found salient in migration discourse is the image schema of container which has to do with the conceptualization of a state as a container (Chilton 1996, Charteris-Black 2006, Hart 2007). Johnson argues that the Container schema provides the means by which many other experiences, social, and abstract, are structured (Johnson 1987:21).

2.2. Developing a framework for Conceptualizing SELF and OTHER

2.2.1. Concepts and Categories

Following their interactions in a social context, both in short and long-term memories, individuals construct cognitive structures that allow them organize their conceptions of SELF and OTHER. This section serves to investigate the cognitive structures involved in the process of SELF and OTHER construction and representation.

Categorizing through judgement and comparison, according to Croft and Cruse (2004: 46), is a construal operation that represents one of the general cognitive processes. An overview of the literature on concepts and categories²¹ shows that there is, first of all, no clear historical division between concepts and categories of objects/ persons or events, and, secondly, a problem of definition. The classical Aristotelian view suggests that concepts and categories have defining features as necessary and sufficient conditions. Indeed, some concepts are not difficult to define, such as the concept of AUNT, e.g.²²

$$\forall n,u \text{ (Aunt}(u,n) \equiv \exists p(\text{Parent}(p,n) \wedge (\text{Sister}(u,p))).$$

²¹ I refer mainly to cognitively-based representational approaches to concepts and categories, rather than to formal, i.e. denotational, semantic, or philosophical approaches.

²² The notational system of propositional logic is used in this example.

Other concepts, such as GAME or CHAIR, as pointed out by Wittgenstein (1953) and other “ordinary language” philosophers, do not have clear defining features. One of the most significant contributions to the treatment of concepts and categories made by Wittgenstein was his introduction of the term *family resemblance* between members of categories which seem to share only some, rather than all features or conditions. Thus, in the category of GAME some games involve physical activity, some hard thinking and some pleasure. However, most of Wittgenstein’s argument was based on the problem of definitions, rather than their existence and essence of particular concepts. In the above example, AUNT is a concept that has necessary and sufficient conditions, but still does not exclude the existence of a prototype, e.g. a prototypical Aunt Monica will be the sister of a parent, but Aunt Monica can also be a friend of a family. The second meaning is co-constructed by a child and a parent in a particular situational context where the interlocutors are at least one child and one adult. With regard to their composition, concepts and categories appear to be complex entities whose treatment can include background presuppositions (for instance, GRANNY presupposes “family”), necessary and sufficient conditions (granny is female), cultural conventions (ideally, granny is kind, child-loving and looks old). People fall back to various heuristics for classification purposes, and can sometimes not categorize certain objects or events at all or fluctuate in their categorization decision.

The popular approach to the structural composition of concepts and categories is countered by Barsalou (1992). Firstly, he makes a distinction between concept and category. Secondly, he uses the notion of frames which play a central role in the construction of especially ad hoc categories. A category is seen by Barsalou as a set of objects at the level of reference. A concept is defined as

the descriptive information that people represent cognitively for a category, including definitional information, prototypical information, functionally important information, and probably other types of information.(Barsalou 1992: 31)

According to this approach, a concept is regarded as a mental entity demonstrating certain semantic features, or *attributes*, by virtue of which a linguistic expression is applied to an object or category and is negotiable and context-dependent. Barsalou (ibid.) argues that a semantic attribute describes an aspect of at least some category members and that a semantic attribute appears as one aspect of a large whole. The scholar outlines the presence of a larger knowledge structure such as a frame as an organizing principle for a category and suggests attribute taxonomies that depend on nested sets of properties. A frame, in Barsalou's definition, "includes a co-occurring set of abstract attributes that adopt different values across exemplars" (ibid.: 23). He suggests that an infinite number of attributes can be constructed for a category: "When new aspects of exemplars become relevant in novel contexts, people may construct new attributes to represent them." (ibid: 34). The meaning of a semantic attribute is interpreted in Barsalou's work as a synonym of a dimension, variable or slot: "Rather than categorizing entities solely on the basis of specific values people more often categorize them on the basis of more abstract attributes"(ibid.). Values are interpreted by Barsalou as the concepts containing additional information that is not in their respective attributes thereby making them more specific concepts.

Barsalou's interpretation of concepts as cognitive frames can be compared to the multidimensional *cognitive models* (Croft 2004), in which facets represent values or attributes. In order to represent one specific aspect of the concept, an attribute or attributes are highlighted or foregrounded.

How can Barsalou's definition of concept and its structural composition be used to theorize the concept and category of SELF and OTHER? I propose that SELF and OTHER representations are based on the representation of attributes that describe groups and individuals which are situated in structured social and linguistic space of contemporary Russian migration discourse. Barsalou himself recognizes the suitability of his frame-based models to represent types of individuals in the world; they are

contextualized and local in scope in situations and they can be updated (Barsalou et al. 1993).

Guichard (2001), having conducted studies in the pedagogic and vocational discourse, has identified that when individuals construct their particular identity, they tend to give certain specific values to the attributes of the underlying cognitive frame. Such values can be fine-grained evaluative in a specific social context, i.e. “student” versus “successful student in computer science”, in educational discourse. The value in this case demonstrates an evaluative attribute. The same process happens while representing the OTHER, i.e. “migrant” versus “illegal migrant”, in the context of migration discourse. Guichard and Dumora (2008), using the notion of cognitive identity frames, suggest that it is precisely the system of such identity frames that constitutes the cognitive basis of the representation of the SELF and OTHER within structured social and linguistic contexts.

Adapting the notion of cognitive identity frames to the analysis of SELF and OTHER representation in contemporary Russian migration discourse, I understand them as mental structures of attributes having specific values which refer to the social groups constituting the categories of SELF and OTHER. Consider the following example:

- (2.1) Earlier, if an “internal enemy” was a Jew [«внутренним врагом» был еврей], now these are the people of “the Caucasian ethnicity” [люди «кавказской национальности». [...]] The result of such policies [...] is also that our people have stopped seeing friends [перестали друзей видеть]. When they are asked about it during studies, they do not know or they are just barely answering: “Ukrainians, but I doubt it...” [«Украинцы, но я сомневаюсь...»]. And when they are asked about enemies [о врагах], it turns out that there is half of the world of them. (МС, Gazeta, 5.09. 2006)

In Example (2.1), the polarized category of SELF and OTHER is construed through the evaluative antonymic pair *враг – друг* 'enemy - friend'. The OTHER category member *еврей* 'Jew' is replaced by a fictitious ethnonym *люди «кавказской национальности»* 'people of the Caucasian ethnicity'. The following attributes and values that themselves become attributes can be identified:

Concept	Attribute1	Value1 (Attribute2)	Value2 (Attribute 3)
SELF/ OTHER	Ethnicity	Russian (наши люди 'our people')	+ друг 'friend'
	ethnicity	Ukrainian (Украинцы 'Ukrainians')	
	ethnicity	Jewish (еврей 'Jew')	- враг (past)
	fictional ethnicity based on provenance	люди «кавказской национальности» 'people of the Caucasian nationality'	- враг

Table 2.1. Attribute-Value relations in SELF and OTHER representations in Example 2.1

We can see from the above table that the representations referring to SELF and OTHER in Example (2.1) are categorized according to the attributes of ethnicity and provenance. It is possible to categorize discourse participants using two or more attributes conterminously, as in the characterization *люди «кавказской национальности»*. Values can represent concepts in their own

right building taxonomies (Barsalou 1992:31). In the current example, the values in Attribute 3 are positively or negatively marked representations.

Working definition of SELF and OTHER concepts

Following Barsalou's definition of frames, I suggest the following working definition for the cognitive identification of SELF and OTHER in migration discourse:

SELF and OTHER in Migration Discourse are represented through cognitive identity frames structuring semantic attributes of discourse participants constructed in a specific socio-cultural discursive context. Cognitive identity frames of SELF and OTHER can be described through features. i.e. categorizing attributes, and values.

However, as Chafe (1970:95) warns, "to say that the concepts exist does not yet mean to say that we are capable of their immediate identification in our cognition or that we can satisfactorily represent or analyze them". Therefore, this study merely represents an attempt to uncover the complexity of the phenomenon in question and to indicate possible ways for the unravelling of this complexity.

2.2.2. Adopting the notion of semantic attributes for the analysis of discourse participants

In this section, I would like to examine some attributes through which SELF and OTHER discourse participants are represented in migration discourse. The choice of attributes to be examined is based on Van Leeuwen's (1996) inventory of representation strategies of social actors. Although the theoretical basis to which Van Leeuwen orientates is not cognitive but socio-semantic, he offers a plausible account of social actors' categories.

Van Leeuwen recognizes categorization as a socio-semantic phenomenon for the representation of social actors and he identifies the following principles of categorization:

- functionalization, i.e. a person's identity is defined in terms of an activity, in terms of what people do, e.g. occupation;
- identification, which has three types:
 - classification, i.e. a social actor's identity is defined in terms of what they more or less permanently, or unavoidably, are (ethnicity, age, gender, provenance, class, wealth, religion, sexual orientation, citizenship etc.);
 - relational classification, i.e. social actors are defined through the relations of kinship, friendship, work and social networks;
 - physical identification, i.e. social actors are defined through physical features and these can be used to obliquely classify or functionalize social actors.

(after Van Leeuwen 1996:54-59)

Van Leeuwen (1996:54) recognizes that these categories are culture-specific and variable. For example, it is the case with migrants whose representations, instead of being perceived in terms of functionalization (what people do), have moved to the category of classification, says Van Leeuwen (ibid.). This is an important observation which proves that pre-structured systems of attributes may be redundant due to the shifts within such systems enacted by discourse participants. It is also relevant for the analysis of SELF and OTHER representation in my thesis, as my hypothesis suggests that **in contemporary Russian migration discourse various types of categorization, i.e. functionalization, physical identification, but also classification by citizenship or by name, i.e. nomination etc., are ultimately used for the ethnic classification of discourse participants.**

It has to be noted that very often these attributes are used in SELF and OTHER representations concurrently. This may be achieved through attributive phrases, such as *люди «кавказской национальности»* (ethnicity

+ generic provenance), or there can be an implicit ambiguity of the term denoting ethnicity, nationality and provenance, such as *українці*. Such ambiguities are quite often resolved discursively; however, quite frequently they are used for strategic purposes to obscure ethnic connotations.

Thus, the attributes which social actors can be represented through, after Van Leeuwen (1996), concern the following: occupation, ethnicity, age, gender, provenance, class, wealth, religion, sexual orientation, citizenship, kinship, friendship, work and social networks and physical features. Most of these attributes will be taken as a methodological basis of the identification of categorizing principles for SELF and OTHER representations in Chapter 4.

2.3. Metaphorical conceptualization

The approach to metaphor in this thesis is a cognitive linguistic approach, according to which metaphor is seen as a general cognitive construal operation, and it falls into the rubric of ‘judgement/ comparison’ along with categorization (Croft and Cruse 2004: 46). However, it is not just a cognitive tool; it is used to conceptualize subjective and intersubjective experiences, social situations and subjects. This makes it an important object of study for critical discourse analysts. In the following sections, I will discuss two specific cognitive linguistic approaches: Conceptual Metaphor Theory as the most influential source for all current theories of metaphor and its development Conceptual Blending Theory.

2.3.1. Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT)

It has long been recognized that metaphor is not only a linguistic expression use for rhetoric purposes, but also a part of human conceptualization. Metaphors seem to develop in discourse, and over time in languages in the lexicalisation of abstract or innovatory concepts on the basis of mapping from the more concrete or better understood domains of experience.

This idea was first developed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) in their programmatic volume “Metaphors we live by”. According to their view, the conceptual structure is organized by means of cross-domain mappings or correspondences between the conceptual domain *source* and the conceptual domain *target*. Some of these mappings arise due to pre-conceptual embodied experiences, and some build on these experiences to create more complex or abstract conceptual structures. Metaphorical expressions originate in underlying metaphors that themselves originate in human bodily experiences of space, movement and containment (Johnson 1987). Lakoff (1987) and Johnson (1987) both argue that image schemas emerging directly from pre-conceptual embodied experience could serve as source domains for metaphorical mapping.

Source domains are thus more concrete and better understood, whereas target domains tend to be more abstract and unknown. Patterns are observed whereby certain parts of domains recur as source domains while other more often occur as target domains. Source domains tend to be more concrete, well-known and rich in structure, they tend to use image schemas or frames for physical or natural phenomena (water, current, avalanche, darkness etc.). Target domains, on the other hand, are more likely to be unknown, abstract and understructured. The most interesting effect of the interaction between source and target domain results in the meaning-generating capacity of metaphor which is the effect focused upon by Beer and De Landsheer who state that “the interaction between the source and the target generates a new meaning” (2004:10). In addition, the principle of selectivity is applied to metaphorical mapping: “in allowing us to focus on one aspect of a concept, [...] a metaphorical concept can keep us away from focusing on other aspects of the concept that are inconsistent with that metaphor” (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:10).

In recent years, metaphors have been explored from an explicitly cognitive perspective with the emphasis on conceptual metaphors (Chilton 1996, 2005, Koller 2005, Santa Ana 2002, Musolff 2004, Charteris-Black 2006). In CDA, the metaphor is seen primarily as a cognitive device which

constitutes ideology. Metaphors can be a part of discriminatory discourse as they “privilege one understanding reality over others” (Chilton 1996:74). Metaphors can be seen as realizing particular strategies in discourse. Since specific attributes and relations can be mapped from the source domain onto the target domain, the metaphors can be used for the realization of referential and evaluative strategies. Metaphors are ultimately bound with affect as they “activate unconscious emotional associations” (Charteris-Black 2004). The next section discusses how metaphors can be explored in more details through a cognitive approach entitled Conceptual Blending Theory.

2.3.2. Conceptual Blending Theory (CBT)

2.3.2.1. Principles of conceptual blending

Conceptual blending can be described as a set of non-compositional processes in which the imaginative capacities of meaning construction are invoked to produce emergent structure (Fauconnier and Turner 1996, 2002). CBT offers a general model of meaning construction in which a small set of partially compositional processes operate in analogy, metaphors, counterfactuals and other semantic and pragmatic phenomena (Coulson and Oakley 2000, Fauconnier and Turner 1996, 2002). In this theory, understanding meaning involves the construction of blended cognitive models that include some structure from one or multiple input spaces, as well as emergent structure that arises through the cognitive operations involved in the blend. The content of two or more mental spaces is thus combined to yield novel meanings. CBT is different from CMT in that CBT specifies what conceptual activity is going on during discourse processing. The specific construal operations involved in metaphor are the processes of composition, completion and elaboration in conceptual blending. Whereas CMT explores mappings stored in the long-term memory as stable knowledge structures, CBT appears as a dynamic theoretical model which

explores short-term constructions informed by more general knowledge structures, amongst them conceptual metaphors (Grady et al. 1999). According to Evans and Green (2006), in the CBT “meaning construction is equated with conceptualization, a dynamic process whereby linguistic units serve as prompts for an array of conceptual operations and the recruitment of background knowledge” (Evans and Green 2006: 162).

Instead of concentrating on domains as modelling tools, blending theory uses the notion of *mental spaces* which are “small conceptual packets constructed as we think and talk [...]” (Fauconnier & Turner 1996:213) In Mental Space Theory (Fauconnier 1994) linguistic expressions do not refer to entities in the world directly but via the construction of mental spaces containing objects, actions, processes referred to in discourse. Mental spaces can be established by multiple linguistic phenomena, such as various types of reference, metaphor and metonymy. Blending theory goes further in the explanation of discourse processing than, for instance, CMT, dealing thus with online meaning construction. It presents modifications in meaning in terms of *blending* when structures from two mental spaces are projected to a separate space, the *blend*, which has an *emergent semantic structure* of its own. This allows CBT analysts to account for the exploitation of more stable, conventional structures into the blends, i.e. roles, identity or metaphorical connections (Fauconnier & Turner 1996:213).

Schematically, a conceptual blend can be represented through the following figure:

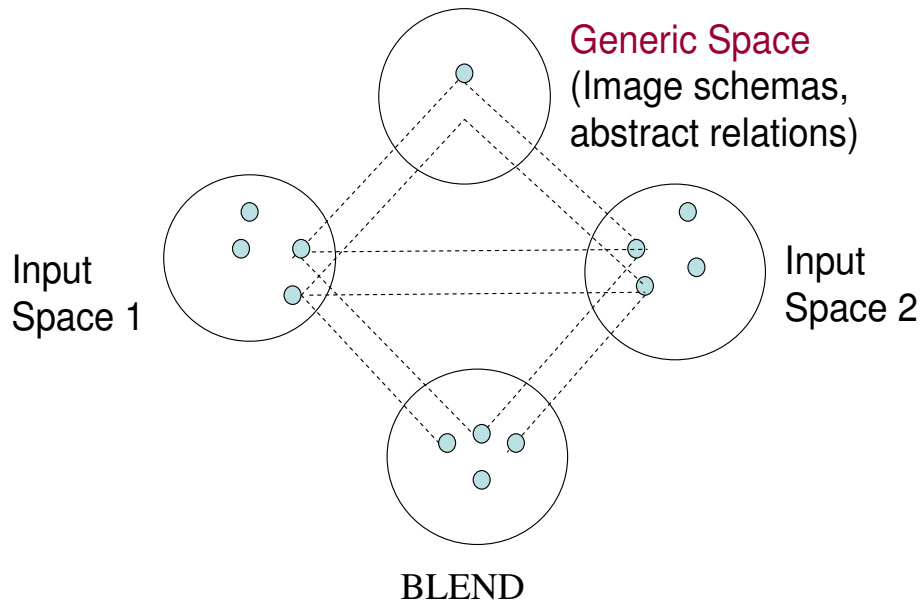


Figure 2.1. Conceptual Blend

Figure 2.1 shows a model of a conceptual blend, which emerges from an interaction of Input Space 1 and Input Space 2. Various structures from two mental spaces are selectively projected to a separate space, the *blend*, which has an emergent semantic structure of its own. This allows CBT analysts to account for the exploitation of more stable, conventional structures into the blends, i.e. roles, identities or metaphoric connections, image schemas, and other abstract relations, which are present in the generic space. Fauconnier and Turner suggest that

...blends are often generated on the fly [...] but they recruit entrenched mappings and frames. Blends themselves can give rise to conceptual and formal structures shared throughout the community” (Fauconnier and Turner 2002:49)

This is an observation which will be addressed later in the analysis of SELF representations in Chapters 5 and 6. I will argue that conceptual structures arising through entrenchment can become *stereotypical conceptual scenarios* for the representation of SELF and OTHER discourse participants.

Within this framework, cognitive identity frames of SELF and

OTHER can be seen as components of both an original input structure and a resulting metaphorical blend, along with other forms of knowledge organisation, such as scripts, scenarios, additional frames and cultural stereotypes, whereas discourse metaphors can be based on such entrenched mappings or they represent newly emerged meanings which, in their turn, can be entrenched.

Chilton (2005a:22), commenting on the contributions of blending theory to Discourse Analysis, notes that blending theory can provide Discourse Analysis, in particular CDA, with a theoretical cognitive basis. In the following two sections, two metaphorical blends will be applied to the analysis of two examples from discriminatory discourses which are analyzed as metaphorical blends within the CBT framework.

2.3.2.2. Analysis of metaphoric blends

Analysis of metaphoric blend “Jews-as-Parasites” (Chilton 2005)

A practical use of blending theory is shown by Chilton (2004, 2005a) in his analysis of Hitler’s “Jews-as-Parasites” cognitive blend. According to Chilton (2005a:22-23), the concept PARASITE in its *first input space* is part of the pre-existing cognitive frame which includes the concept HOST ORGANISM, which recruits a container image schema present in *generic conceptual space*²³. Following Aristotelian tradition, Chilton ascribes to this input space the property of *essentialism*, i.e. the inscription of inherent and constant properties of kinds. The *second input space* is a particular social group, i.e. the Jews, in the context where the discourse is taking place (the Third Reich). An important remark here is that this space can contain larger entities, i.e. nation states, geographical regions etc., which incorporate social groups as subsets of a larger set. According to Fauconnier and Turner (2002:92-93) a cognitive operation called *compression* occurs in the *blended*

²³ Generic space represents abstract properties that apply to structure in all the spaces. It reflects the roles, frames and schemas common to the source and target spaces.

space:

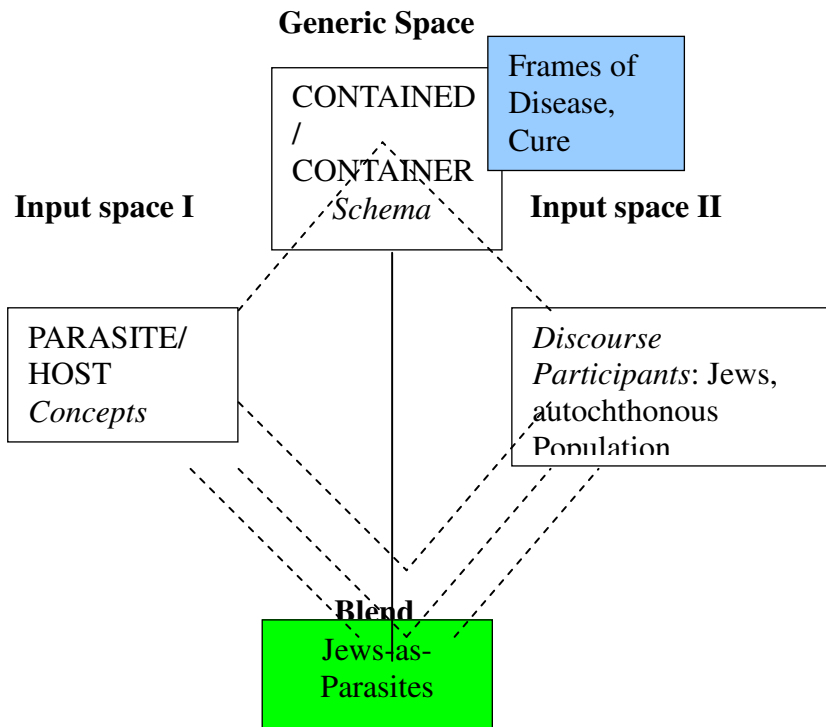


Figure 2.2. Hitler’s “Jews-as-Parasites” cognitive blend (after Chilton 2005a)

The operation of *elaboration* recruits other background knowledge structures in the generic space referred to as *frames* (Fillmore 1985), *scripts* (Schank and Abelson 1977) or *idealised cognitive models*, or *ICMs* (Lakoff 1987). Frames of disease and curative methods are recruited in the above cognitive blend, allowing for the generation of specific inferences.²⁴ Chilton agrees that the activation of a particular blend can activate an inferential chain leading to certain historical events (pogroms and genocide in the above case). In drawing conclusions as to why such inferences should arise, Chilton offers his and Sperber's (2000) view of discourse comprehension as *metarepresentation* (Sperber 2000). It allows one to speculate on “the ability of the human mind to be sensitive to subtle signs of deceptive intent”

²⁴ Fauconnier and Turner do not specify the cognitive principles which are responsible for the generation of these ICMs, but Chilton (2005a: Footnote 7) alludes to the application of the Principle of Relevance (Sperber & Wilson 1986).

(Sperber 2000:135), which has to do with the ability of the interlocuters to recognize each other's intentions.

Fauconnier (1997:168) asserts that “when blends are successful they become our new construal of reality” thus suggesting that emergent structures can be inherently ideological. Such a view corresponds with the view of ideology presented in Chapter 1.

In what follows, I would like to prove that CBT can be applied as a conceptual apparatus for the study of SELF and OTHER categorization in migration discourse.

Analysis of metaphoric blend “Migrant-as-Animal”

To illustrate the working of the blending theory on my corpus, the following ironic utterance is scrutinized:

- (2.2) Страшнее гастарбайтера зверя нет. ‘There is no more frightening animal than the guest worker’ (Gazeta, 18.09.06).

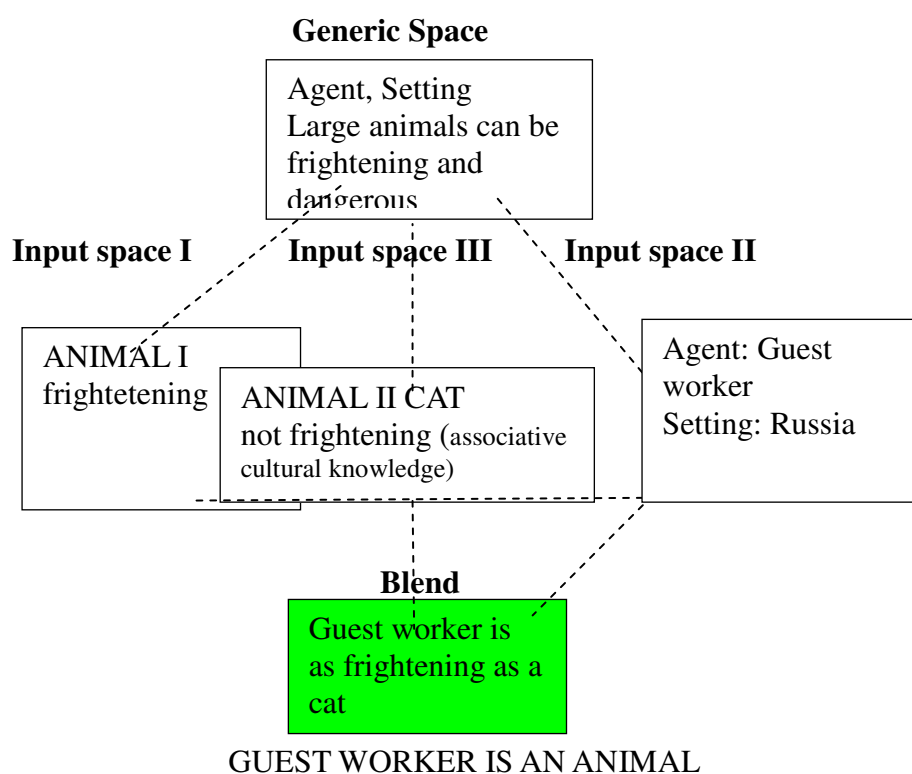


Figure 2.3. Cognitive blending chain in Example (2.2)

The above blend structure illustrates that blends arise in networks of mental spaces, which are connected by means of conceptual projections (dashed lines) corresponding to *neural coactivations* (Fauconnier and Turner 2002). This ironic utterance represents a combination of (at least) three input spaces which blend themselves into a *blending chain*. It activates the concept ANIMAL I in Input Space I and a concept GUEST WORKER in Input Space II, of which “guest worker”, i.e. a working migrant, is a subset. The characterization гастарбайтер 'guest worker' is a typical contemporary term to characterize migrants and is rarely perceived a direct calque from German with the typical connotations.²⁵ Input space II is structured by a cognitive identity frame “guest worker”. Spaces-domains are connected via mapping (black dashed lines) and result in a conceptual blend “Guest worker is as frightening as a cat”. According to CBT, the concept ANIMAL must be a part of a pre-existing structured cognitive model which may have the attributes “potentially frightening, potentially dangerous”. Nonetheless, another cognitive model is based on the association with a line from a famous fable by Ivan Krylov “The Mouse and the Rat”²⁶. The original line Страшнее кошки зверя нет ‘There is no more frightening animal than the cat’ to which allusion is made, in the context of the fable reduces the negative evaluative force of the metaphoric expression, turning the expression into verbal irony.²⁷ This cultural association forms an implied mental space, which in Figure 2.4 is entitled ANIMAL II CAT. Blending theory does not consider the examples of verbal irony, and is not able to

²⁵ The Russian National Corpus gives only 10 usages of гастарбайтер 'guest worker' (with the earliest use in 2002) and these are only used with relation to the Russian context. http://search.ruscorpora.ru/search.xml?mycorp=&mysent=&mysize=&mysentsize=&dp p=&spp=&spd=&text=lexform&mode=main&sort=gr_tagging&lang=ru&nodia=1&req=%E3%E0%F1%F2%E0%F0%E1%E0%E9%F2%E5%F0

²⁶ Published in: Ivan Andreevich Krylov (1816): “New Fables” Volume 4, Sankt-Petersburg, see also Krylov's Manuscripts owned by the Saltykov-Shchedrin's State Public Library in Saint Petersburg

²⁷ Etymology of the expression is explained in the following resource: <http://www.poskart.ru/strashnee-koshki.html>, accessed on 15.08.2009

explain the reversal of meaning.²⁸ The preference for the ironical interpretation (ANIMAL II CAT) in favour of the negative interpretation (ANIMAL I) is figured out of the rest of the text in which migrants are described as somebody who cannot do any harm. This preference can be explained by the presence of negativity in the phrase for the expression of a *dissociative attitude* (Sperber and Wilson 1981) by the journalist. In this way, the journalist indirectly disclaims the evaluation of migrants being frightening and dangerous. Thus, the intended effect is the reverse evaluation of the migrant. Charteris-Black (2009:106-107) comments on the use of humour in metaphors as a form of appeal to the audience's emotions. Humour, in his view is a particularly effective strategy if metaphors are employed in dealing with multiple audiences: "This is because it can strengthen the support of followers and undermine the opposition of opponents by uniting them through an empathetic response [...] It is only effective if it appeals to the values of the speech community to which it is addressed" (ibid.). The phenomenon noticed by Charteris-Black (2009) is effective in addressing what he calls *disparate discourse communities*, each with their own norms. The community, to which the above metaphor is addressed, is required to see the migrants as not frightening. Subsequently, the discursive function of this ironic metaphorical utterance is to calm the fears of the local communities in Russia about migrants and disclaim the migrants' negative representation as dangerous to these local communities. Nevertheless, the resulting discourse metaphor in the blend GUEST WORKER IS AN ANIMAL which is explicitly expressed in Example (2.2) gives a choice of two conflicting meanings. There is a possibility that the reader may not be aware of the implied interpretation which is based on the associations with the fable, or no conceptual projections which would activate the implied space have been built, because the reader failed to recognize the cultural associations activating this space. Then, the discourse metaphor GUEST WORKER IS AN ANIMAL takes the negative

²⁸ The current debate on verbal irony identifies predominantly two positions. On one view, irony is based on echoic use of language (Sperber & Wilson 1986). On another view, irony is a form of indirect negation (Giora 1995).

connotations associated with the ANIMAL I space and becomes a pure racist metaphor (cf. Santa Ana 2002:99).

Conceptual blending analysis can be applied to a wider range of phenomena, such as *counterfactuality* (Turner and Fauconnier 1998: 296), as a further analysis in Chapter 5 and 6 will demonstrate.

2.4. From conceptual analysis of metaphor to discourse metaphor

Zinken et al. (2008) recognize that CMT has traditionally paid little attention to the cultural situatedness of the metaphor. Their main criticism is that studies in the tradition of CMT are preoccupied with well entrenched structures of the mind rather than analysing novel meaning arising through metaphors which may change with the ongoing discourses. Discourse metaphor is known as “a relatively stable metaphorical projection that functions as a key framing device within a particular discourse for a certain period of time.” (Zinken et al. 2007: 363)

Zinken et al. (2007) maintain that in the case of discourse metaphors, culture-specific discourse-based metaphors may not be derived from primary metaphors but may co-evolve with the cultures in which they are used. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine that metaphors such as MIGRATION IS CONFLICT or NATION IS FAMILY are grounded in some primary metaphors. Even if fixed conceptual structures are used to create metaphors such as MIGRATION IS CURRENT and STATE IS CONTAINER, following Zinken et al. (2007), I argue that such metaphors prompt the speaker to construct a meaning that has been negotiated in the discourse, rather than give a conventional meaning. I agree that “*Discourse metaphors reflect the cultural and social preoccupations of the time*” (ibid.). Some discourse metaphors can be employed in discourse to advance the interests of more powerful discourse participants at the expense of other, less-powerful discourse participants.

For instance, in the case of NATION-STATE IS HOUSE metaphor as a culturally-situated construct, Chilton and Ilyin (1993) refer to the Soviet

concept of *dom* 'house'²⁹ which was introduced into the political security discourse of the late 1980s by Mikhail Gorbachev who thus found a mutually acceptable conceptualization to replace the long-standing spatial metaphor of the Iron Curtain. Chilton and Ilyin (ibid.) show that differences in the stereotypes of a house in the Soviet Union and Western European countries led to vastly different inferences in envisaging the common European politics. However, the concept of house originating in medieval Russian discourse can be more closely associated with the meaning of house-related metaphors in my corpus. The Russian concept *dom* 'house', which stems from medieval Russian socio-political culture, traditionally meant both house as building (including the yard) and as household, that is, as the inhabitants of the house (Chilton and Ilyin 1993:8). Although frames for domestic living space are culture-specific and assumptions about the house affect its detailed conceptualization, it is legitimate to claim that the stereotypical Russian house concept is twofold. The concept *dom1* can be traced back to the medieval discourse, and it is based on the basic schema of a single container with external and internal walls, windows, roof, private yard, fence, gate etc. The concept *dom2* originates in the Soviet discourse, and it is based on the image schema of contiguous containers and some shared elements, including collective responsibility and idealized collective ownership (Chilton 1996: 267).

More recently, Koteyko and Ryazanova-Clarke (2009) have discussed BUILDING metaphors in relation to more contemporary Russian discourse. They convincingly argue that discourse metaphors of BUILDING, and also PATH, were continuously used by President Putin in his speeches during his two terms in office for legitimizing and delegitimizing purposes. They suggest that the metaphors of building and journey occupied a special place in the Soviet totalitarian discourse, a

²⁹ Chilton (1996) suggests that the metaphor of house has been in use for the last five hundred years to talk about European nations and their colonies. The metaphor NATION IS HOUSE encapsulated a particular type of social relations, in which the distinctions between the domestic and international became salient. The notion of the nation as an autonomous territory with a specific boundary was fixed conceptually through this metaphor.

metaphor of path mostly denoting changing perceptions of the road to Communism. The road metaphor traditionally co-occurred with the building metaphor. However, Vladimir Putin's speeches developed the concept of 'the Russian idea' with the help of the creative use of path and building metaphors (ibid.114).

Although the metaphorical studies conducted in the vein of CDA do not refer to the metaphors investigated as discourse metaphors and rather classify them as conceptual metaphors, I argue that the metaphors such as those listed above are indeed discourse metaphors at the basis of which may lie universal conceptual metaphors.

In sum, the major difference outlined between conceptual metaphors and discourse metaphors is seen in universality and independence of time of conceptual metaphors and socio-cultural situatedness of discourse metaphors. Discourse metaphors employ cultural knowledge. Discourse metaphors have social and cultural history and they influence social and cultural futures, i.e. policies, values and relations. Last but not least, it is important to keep in mind that discourse metaphors may have a conceptual basis, and not only verbal, but also visual expressions can be analyzed in terms of discourse metaphors.

2.5 Discourse Space Theory

Discourse Space Theory (Chilton 2004, 2005a, 2005b) represents an alternative approach to Van Dijk's sociocognitive approach. DST considers short- and long-term structures which hearers construe in their memory as complexes of mental spaces, or discourse ontologies.

DST is based on the theory of mental spaces and discourse/text worlds. It re-conceptualizes mappings across mental spaces as coordinate correspondences on three fundamental dimensions of Euclidean three-dimensional space. The starting point of the DST is the hypothesis that human beings can represent some elements of discourse, such as space, time and modality, by means of a Cartesian coordinate system. The second important claim is that discourse processing is fundamentally *deictic*

(“grounded” in Langacker’s terms).

According to DST, as discourse unfolds, *discourse space ontology* is constructed. Abstract discourse space which is constructed during discourse processing incorporates the speaker’s representation of his/her cognitive position in this space along three axes of the discourse space:

We are suggesting that in processing any discourse people ‘position’ other entities in their ‘world’ by positioning these entities in relation to themselves along (at least) three axes, space, time and modality. The deictic centre (the Self, that is I or we) is the origin of the three dimensions. Other entities (arguments of predicates) and processes (predicates) ‘exist’ relative to ontological spaces defined by their coordinates on the space (s), time (t) and modality (m) axes. (Chilton 2004:57-58)

According to Chilton (2004, 2005b), a discourse space is a conceptual space consisting of three intersecting axes, i.e. axes of space, time and modality axes, each representing a scale. The point at which these three axes intersect is called a deictic centre (DC). Spatial meaning can be indicated not only through spatial deictic adverbs as “here” and “there”, but also through the pronouns “we” and other forms of 1st person pronouns and “they” and other lexicogrammatical resources along with background assumptions, which serve to indicate social distance or proximity.

Chilton’s attempt to accommodate positive-negative evaluation in migration discourse resulted in the revised function of the modal axis. The modal axis in the initial version of DST served to account for epistemological stance and thus for linguistic expression of the epistemological stance of the speaker. Chilton’s initial proposal that modality can be modelled in terms of spatial concepts is based on substantial previous research on epistemic modality. Thus, in one of his recent articles he cites Langacker who suggests that

“...the modals can be described as contrasting with one another because they situate the process at varying distances from the speaker’s position at immediate known reality.” (Langacker 1991:246)

Taking as a point of departure a scale based on the intuitive grading of English modal verbs, adverbs and expressions, he comes to the conclusion that negation (“is not”) is maximally distant from the speaker at 0 (“is”). Subsequently, he attempts to find a correlation between the positive-negative m-axis and the evaluative e-axis.

In accordance with DST, SELF and OTHER discourse participants in (2.3) can be spatially and modally positioned in the following way:

- 2.3) Once, you said that one illegal Tajik [нелегальный таджик] should cost the employer more than one legal Russian [легальный русский]. (Moderate Corpus, Rossiiskaia Gazeta, 24.10.06, interview with K. Romodanovskiy)

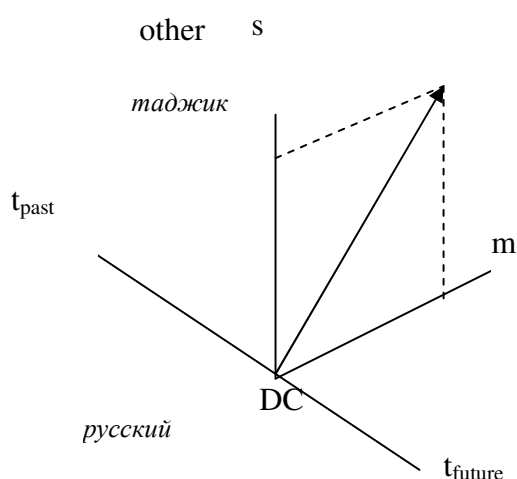


Figure 2.4. Geometrical Representation of Abstract Discourse Space

Figure 2.4 shows that the three axes intersect at the deictic centre where here (s) and now (t) are located. In order to accommodate social deixis, the spatial axis is used to represent social distance which is a metaphorical conceptualization of interpersonal proximity/ distance.³⁰ Through background assumptions, it is understood that the discourse participant русский ‘Russian’ is positioned in the middle of deictic centre. It is also

³⁰ Lakoff’s (1987) original distance/ proximity image schema is used to account for the metaphorical structuring of the s-axis.

important that this discourse participant in the deictic centre is linguistically represented through the evaluative adjective *легальный* 'legal'. Since the modal axis can, in principle, accommodate various types of modality including axiological modality, as Cap (2008) demonstrates, the positivizing evaluative adjective *легальный* 'legal' referring to the SELF discourse participant can be claimed to be located in the beginning of the modal axis. Then, the negativizing evaluative adjective *нелегальный* 'illegal' is placed on the opposite side of the modal axis. At the same time, the OTHER discourse participant *таджик* 'Tajik' is placed at the opposite end of the spatial axis to indicate the social distance. The general context of the article and the position of the attributor as Head of Migration Service actively promoting the ethnonational policies of the government allows for distancing non-Russian discourse participants far away from the deictic centre. The resulting relationship between SELF and OTHER discourse participants is depicted through the arrow which reflects the strategy of distancing performed in the discourse unit analyzed.

Some drawbacks of the theory at the current stage of development are as follows: 1) the position of entities in the discourse space is not calculable, i.e. "we" and "them" are at polar ends of the spatial axis by default, 2) it is not clear how to define the salience of specific entities, 3) the modal axis has only been described so that it allows consideration of deontic or epistemic modality, but the issue of, for example, axiological modality remains largely unexplored.³¹

Nevertheless, it can be claimed that along with CBT, DST offers a plausible alternative account of what Van Dijk (1993) entitles *social cognition*. Hart (2008: 123) notes that emergent structures, blending operations and discourse space ontologies are inherently social. They reflect the main tenet of CDA that discourse is always socially situated. With respect to CBT, emergent structures that become entrenched most

³¹ Deontic modality is concerned with the logic of obligation and permission. Epistemic modality is concerned with the logical structure of sentences which assert or imply that propositions are known or believed (Crystal 2003). Axiological modality is concerned with values and disvalue, such as goodness, badness and indifference. (Weber 1992)

closely correspond with the conception of CDA about (re)production of social cognitions.

In this thesis, I use the terminology offered by DST, rather than Van Dijk, to talk about emergent structures which can be ideologically biased. That is, SELF and OTHER representations are explored not from the position of social cognition and social representations, but from the position of Conceptual Blending Theory (Fauconnier 1997, Fauconnier and Turner 2002) and Discourse Space Theory (Chilton 2004, 2005a, 2005b, forthcoming) combined with more discursively orientated ideas of Van Leeuwen (1996, 2008) and Zinken et al (2007).

2.6. Conclusions

In this chapter, I have considered the important role of conceptualization in the representation of SELF and OTHER discourse participants.

The concepts of SELF and OTHER, which are seen as categories at the level of reference, can be conceptualized as cognitive identity frames. Such identity frames can appear as constitutive parts of larger conceptual structures, such as mental spaces, constructed on-line as discourse unfolds. In the cases of metaphorical expressions, which are used to refer to SELF and OTHER discourse participants indirectly, such cognitive identity frames can be used to be recruited into input spaces that generate emergent meanings through conceptual blends. Cognitive identity frames exhibit some semantic properties that enable discourse participants to be selective in the activation of specific semantic attributes used to refer to other discourse participants and categorize them in a certain way in accordance with their ideological purposes.

Categorizing through the activation or construction of discourse metaphors is another conceptual operation frequently used in migration discourse with respect to SELF and OTHER discourse participants. Certain metaphoric mappings seem to be more frequent than others and it is worth exploring possible ways of metaphorization in migration discourse as an

example of referential-categorizing and evaluative strategies.

Another formal structure that contains reference to SELF and OTHER discourse participants, and also conceptualizes their relationships in discourse, is discourse space ontology. Ontologies are also constructed on-line and they position discourse participants along a three-dimensional coordinates system which can show various interpersonal strategies, i.e. social distancing. Conceptual structures, such as those discussed in Chapter 2, can be entrenched, which leads to the (re)production of discourse-specific ideologies. I have indicated a possibility of evaluative analysis through which the social distance can be expressed by the available cognitive frameworks, such as DST, sketch the evaluative dimension insufficiently. A more comprehensive evaluative framework should be found for the complete analysis of SELF and OTHER representations. One of the possible solutions will be explored in more detail in Chapter 4 before the actual analysis of evaluative strategies.

This chapter serves to describe the collection of texts through which SELF and OTHER representations are transmitted and to outline basic criteria for corpus design and methodology for the analysis of the corpus. It begins with the presentation of specific research questions some of which appear in the Introduction. They are reproduced here as points of reference and extended by more specific questions. The research questions are followed by the description of the corpora, as well as the methodological framework for the empirical studies.

3.1. Research questions

The major research question dealt with in this thesis is as follows:

In what ways are SELF and OTHER discourse participants represented in the Russian discourse on migration in 2006-2009 and what is the discursive function of these representations?

Specific questions include:

- Through which discursive strategies are SELF and OTHER discourse participants represented?
- By which linguistic and extralinguistic means are SELF and OTHER discourse participants represented?
- Can any specific ideologies be identified through the analysis of SELF and other representations?

Each of these more specific questions can be broken down into more specific sub-questions:

- What are discursive strategies of
 - referring to SELF and OTHER?
 - categorizing SELF and OTHER?
 - evaluating SELF and OTHER?
- What are the linguistic and extralinguistic means of SELF and OTHER representation:
 - verbal?
 - conceptual?
 - visual?
- What are the functions of these strategies and representations in discourse?

Ultimately, I am interested in attempting to answer the question:

- Are OTHER discourse participants discriminated against through language?

I am thus interested in a specific social practice, namely media discourse on migration and the ways of representing representatives of in- and out-groups by journalists in media texts. The difficulty of dealing with media discourse is that representations are two- or threefold. At times the journalists give direct, i.e. self-attributed representations based on their own opinions. At the same time, they represent other opinions, for instance, the ideology of the publication by which they are employed. Alternatively, these representations act as excerpts of represented discourse from external discourse participants, upon which journalists comment, or leave without any comments for the readers to decide how to assess these representations. I suggest that by leaving an attributed statement without any comment, in most cases authors of texts tacitly endorse such statements. However, such uncommented upon statements must be considered within the context of the whole text as sometimes the context may overrun the above suggestion.

Hence, methods of analysis used in this corpus should account for such differences in representations. Specific questions that have to be answered in connection with these difficulties are the following:

- Can it be suggested that the analyzed representations reflect the opinion of the journalist or edition which the journalist represents?
- If the analyzed representations are attributed to another person or source, does the author of the text approve or disapprove of these opinions?

In order to answer the above research questions, a triangulation of several methods of discourse analysis is required. The methodology devised for the analysis of the corpus must be not only descriptive, but it must take into consideration an explanatory aspect.

3.2. Corpus description

3.2.1. Approach to corpus analysis

In the opening section of Chapter 1 one of the definitions of discourse was a totality of texts produced by a given discourse community (Teubert 2005). Most corpus linguists (Teubert 2005) as well as social constructivists (Gergen & Gergen 1991) advocate the social perspective of meaning which implies that meaning is *collectively generated*, and it is generated by a community of language users. However, since it seems literally impossible to take into account all texts produced on a specific subject matter in a given discourse community, some principles and limitations have to be introduced according to which discourse on migration can be analyzed. The next section will present these criteria.

The overview of some recent linguistically-oriented studies of political discourse has proven that most of the discourse studies are corpus-based and often use a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods of analysis. Large databases are analyzed mostly through automatic quantitative methods and special software. Specifically, studies of

metaphors in political discourse are predominantly corpus-informed (Charteris-Black 2004, Musolff 2004, O'Halloran 2007). Some methods of corpus linguistics are suitable to analyze a large collection of texts, such as Bank of English (450 million words) as well as relatively small corpora, such as used in this paper. Nevertheless, methods of corpus linguistics, such as automated search, have to be used selectively and supplemented by other methods of discourse analysis, such as qualitative analysis (see later in this chapter).

3.2.2. Criteria for corpus collection

One of the main principles of corpus design applied to the collection of suitable data was to delimit the linguistic data concerning contemporary Russian migration discourse in a principled way. According to Bell (1991:12) the analysis of media language requires decisions with regard to three aspects:

- Media content: the genres (news, advertising etc.)
- Carriers of content (newspapers, radio stations)
- Outputs (specific newscasts, programmes, publications) and time period to be covered.

These three aspects are regarded in the sub-sections below.

3.2.2.1. Discourse Type

I use the term “discourse type” in the sense similar to what Wales defines as the category of *genres*: “higher-level” structures, groups of texts that are performing a similar function in society” (Wales 2001:338). The discourse type chosen for my corpus can be broadly identified as media texts.

Media texts are “a class of texts which are specialised for moving resources for meaning-making between texts, and more abstractly between different social practices, fields, domains and scales of social life”. (Fairclough 2006:23). Texts can be compiled in chains or networks of texts

which connect events, including events which are removed from each other in time and space, which represents an important feature of media texts, according to Fairclough (ibid.:26, see also Fairclough 2003). The beginning of my Pilot corpus, for instance, was represented by the interethnic clashes in the Karelian town of Kondopoga at the end of August-beginning of September 2006. The same corpus contained discussions of the Russo-Georgian crisis and the possibility of the return of the so-called compatriots from the 'near' and 'far abroad'. The multimodal corpus used for the last empirical study stands at a temporal distance to the corpora used for the first two studies and also discusses the events, i.e. anti-migrant actions, spread across the geographical space of the Russian Federation.

A more concrete definition of the type of media texts used for the compilation of the corpora is “online journalism”. In this discourse type, texts perform both informational and analytical functions but also contain the elements of description and narration. The articles representing this discourse type are comprised of various news items discussing real-life discursive events which have been analyzed by a journalist or a pundit, i.e. an authoritative person, in the form of an argumentative essay or an interview. The articles are published in an online version of a particular newspaper or magazine, which facilitates compilation and access to the data.

3.2.2.2. Carriers of content, size and temporal frame

At the initial stage of my enquiry two major sources were used for my Pilot Corpus which contains two sub-corpora: the Moderate Corpus and the Radical Corpus.

The Moderate Corpus is a collection of analytical articles as well as informative articles about new legislature with or without a commentary which are archived on the website of Moscow City Council under the rubric Миграция 'Migration'. The website of Moscow City Council <http://mpress.ru/> contains regularly updated materials on various contemporary social issues, such as security, children, health services etc.,

from both local Moscow and federal newspapers and magazines, or, rather, their online versions.

The following newspapers and magazines had been daily searched by *mpress* web-editors since February 2005 for the articles which were then placed on the website in the rubric Миграция 'Migration':

“Argumenty i Fakty”, “Biznes”, “Versiia”, “Veshch”, “Vedomosti”, “Vecherniaia Moskva”, “Vlast”, “Gazeta”, “Itogi”, “Izvestiia”, “Kommersant”, “Moskovskaia Pravda”, “Moskovskie Novosti”, “Moskvichka”, “Nezavisimaia Gazeta”, “Novye Izvestiia”, “Profil”, “Rossijskaia Gazeta”, “Tverskaia,13”.

All the above newspapers and magazines are well-known for their relatively moderate views with regard to highly controversial social topics and are non-oppositional, i.e. they represent an ideology broadly similar to that of the contemporary Russian government.

The Radical corpus reflects the views of an oppositional radical movement with a clearly defined anti-migration stance. Движение Против Нелегальной Иммиграции 'Movement Against Illegal Immigration' (henceforth DPNI) publishes various materials on migration on their website <http://www.dpni.ru>. The DPNI is known as an ultra radical group that became prominent in the Russian political landscape during 2005-2006 in connection with the alleged upsurge of “Anti-Russian” attacks.³² The DPNI website consists of the collection of analytical articles and criminal news, among other documents. The Radical corpus contains criminal news with DPNI commentary, analytical articles written by DPNI leaders and articles from other sources, such as the news magazine 'RusoBalt' etc.

The need for two sub-corpora arose due to the intention to compare two types of political discourses, i.e. pro-governmental moderate nationalist and radical extremist, with respect to the content of SELF and OTHER representations. The aim is to find out if there are elements of radical anti-immigrant discourse in pro-governmental discourse which points out its discriminatory trends.

³² DPNI was banned on the territory of the Russian Federation on 18.04.2011.

As the enquiry proceeded, the need for a more extended moderate corpus arose. Empirical study 2 is based on the analysis of the corpus of metaphors compiled on the basis of the extended Moderate corpus. This corpus contains 202 text extracts each including a metaphorical expression representing SELF and/or OTHER discourse participants.

Empirical study 3 is based on the analysis of the multimodal corpus depicting the anti-migrant campaign Наши деньги - нашим людям 'Our money for our people' which was conducted by the pro-governmental youth organization Molodaia Gvardiia or MGER 'The Young Guard' in November 2008 – January 2009. The photographs and the commentary written by the MGER press service appeared on their website <http://www.molgvardia.ru>.

The table below shows the size and the temporal frame of the types of corpora used in the three case studies in this paper.

Study Corpus	Number of Texts	Number of Words	Temporal Frame
1 Pilot Corpus Moderate Radical	44 21	43,270 14,110	End of August 2006 – November 2006
2 Moderate Extended Corpus	220	121,428 words 222 metaphors	End of August 2006 – End of August 2007
3 Multimodal Corpus	Action 1: 1191 words, 8 photographs Action 2: 1438 words, 26 photographs Action 3: 1699 words, 23 photographs		1 November 2008 8 December 2008 19 January 2009

Table 3.1. Size of corpora and temporal frame

The Pilot Corpus which was compiled specifically for the comparative study of categorization and evaluation in the Moderate Corpus and Radical Corpus was collected during the period between the end of August 2006 and mid-November 2006, i.e. the monitoring of the two websites lasted approximately 2,5 months. The two corpora are different in the number of texts and words. The number of occurrences of the linguistic expressions in one particular category was compared with the total number of linguistic expressions under analysis in one sub-corpus.

Study 2 is based on the analysis of an extended version of Moderate Corpus. The source is the same, but the temporal frame is extended to one year (end of August 2006 – end of August 2007). Study 2 uses the corpus of metaphors created on the basis of the Extended Moderate Corpus. The reason for the compilation of the extended version of the Moderate Corpus is manifold. Firstly, it gives a larger, i.e. more representative amount of linguistic expressions that can give more reliable evidence to the conclusions made about mental imagery. Secondly, the tendencies noticed during the analysis of the pilot corpus can be confirmed or disconfirmed through the analysis of a larger corpus. Thirdly, the extended temporal frame allows for the compilation of a larger collection of particular linguistic tokens of a certain type, thus making the study on the whole more scientifically plausible.

Study 3 is based on the analysis of visual and verbal written material temporally divided into three episodes. The multimodal corpus was collected from the website of “Molodaia Gvardiia” in November 2008 – January 2009. The corpus is divided into three parts to represent the three episodes of the campaign:

- Action 1(1 November 2008): 8 photographs and 1191 words
- Action 2 (8 December 2008): 26 photographs and 1438 words
- Action 3 (19 January 2009): 23 photographs and 1699 words

All three actions were held at a different time from that used for the compilation of the Pilot Corpus and Moderate Extended Corpus, which allows for diachronic discourse analytical comparison of the two last corpora. The units of analysis in this multimodal corpus are statements and photographs. The choice of the material under analysis requires a choice of framework that considers both verbal and visual aspects of the corpus. Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996), for instance, stress the importance of incorporating visual images into the analysis of discourse, but Van Leeuwen (1996) strives for a more focused framework based on the socio-semantic representation of social actors, while Van Dijk (1995) insists that linguistic-discursive structures are attributed a crucial function in the reproduction of ideology, power and inequality. The section on methodology will consider the incorporation of several strands into the methodological framework through which the corpora are analyzed further in the thesis.

3.2.3. Representativeness of language sample

Although one of the main reasons for the compilation of a large database of texts has been the endeavour to search for a representative sample of (socio)linguistic items under investigation in contemporary Russian migration discourse, a reservation has to be expressed with regard to the representativeness of the selected sample. Representativeness expresses the degree to which sample data accurately and precisely represent a characteristic(s) of migration discourse at a sampling point. I identify the desirable characteristics of the sample presented in this thesis as “unbiased, sufficient, efficient and consistent”. It is unbiased in that all texts were extracted from the rubric “Migration” providing the discussion was Russia-based or oriented. Thus, the articles analysing the state of immigration issues in France were excluded if there was no reference to the Russian context. The sample is sufficient in order to make certain assumptions about the ideology of Moscow City Council, pro-governmental and oppositional

media which represent the interests of certain groups and communities of social actors. All linguistic units, i.e. metaphors, metonymies, characterizations and collocations which allow for conclusions concerning the concept SELF/OTHER can be found in the compiled corpus. With regard to efficiency, it gives enough linguistic material on the basis of which certain theoretical assumptions and hypotheses can be tested or constructed. Finally, the sample is consistent in that the compilation of the corpus uses the texts of one genre, i.e. “online journalism”, one source, i.e. the two chosen websites, and a continuous time frame.

Nevertheless, it has to be admitted that the sample represents only a small part of all texts, conversations, statements, actions, visual imagery and other media that constitute discursive practices concerning migration in contemporary Russia.

3.3. Methodology

3.3.1. Analytical framework

On the level of methodology, CDA-based studies present a diverse picture. Based on principles of systemic functional linguistics, they borrow concepts and categories from more mainstream pragmatics, discourse analysis and text linguistics, stylistics and social semiotics, social cognition cognitive literature etc (cf. Blommaert 2005:28).

Following the principle of the methodology diversity (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999) congruous with the multidisciplinary nature of CDA, I have adopted the analytical framework based on the ideas developed by Fairclough (1989, 1995), Van Dijk (1995, 1996, 1998a), Van Leeuwen (1996) and Chilton (2004, 2005a, 2005b).

The choice of analytical stages is based on the three-dimensional view of discourse advocated in CDA (cf. Fairclough 1995):

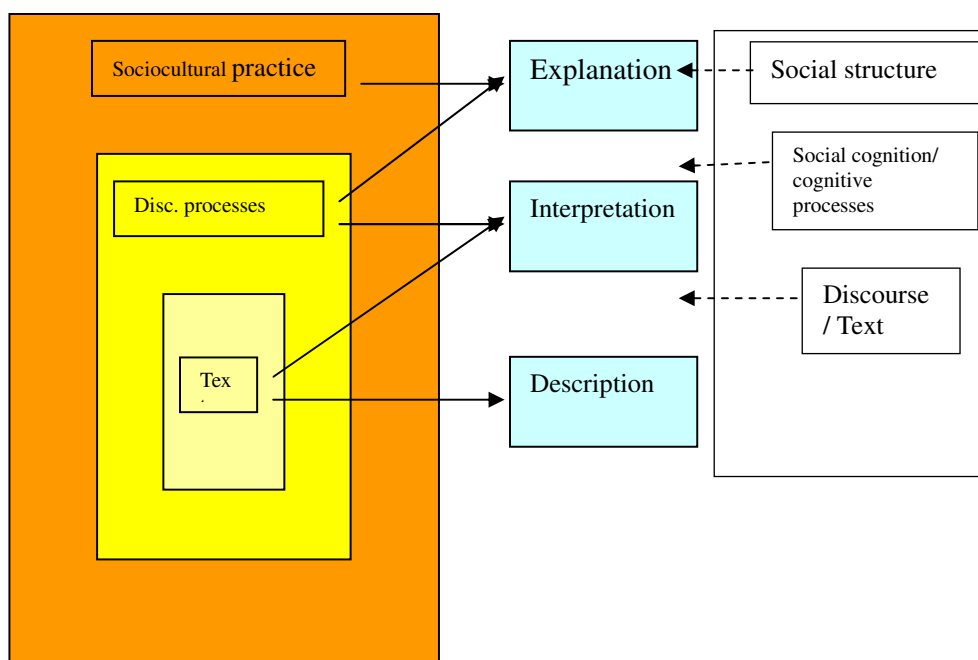


Figure 3.1. Dimensions of discourse and discourse analysis (based on Fairclough, 1995: 98 and Van Dijk 1998a)

Figure 3.1 demonstrates the three-level-approach to discourse advocated by Fairclough (1995) and adapted by Van Dijk (1998a) to the sociocognitive analysis of racist discourse. At the macro-level, discourse is perceived to be in a dialectical relationship with social structure. Figure 3.1 gives an exemplification of this conception, in which “the connection between text and social practice is mediated by discourse practice” (Fairclough 1995: 133). Within the sociocognitive approach advocated by Van Dijk (1998a), discourse/text and social structure are mediated by social cognition which is “the system of mental representations and processes of group members” (Van Dijk 1995:18). Broadly agreeing with Van Dijk on the essence of ideologies, I focus on the exploration of different cognitive processes from Van Dijk. For instance, at the cognitive level, the examination of mental schemas is replaced by the examination of cognitive identity frames and conceptual blends or scenarios.

According to Fairclough (1995:97), different dimensions of discourse correspond to different dimensions of analysis. His method

includes the linguistic description of the language text (i.e. textual level of analysis), the interpretation of the relationship between the discursive processes and the text (i.e. interpersonal and intertextual levels) and the explanation of the relations between the discursive practices and social processes (i.e. the contextual level). For the purposes of this study, I will adapt the procedures proposed by Fairclough in the following way:

- Description is preceded by identification of the analyzed units. This stage requires particular attention due to a high degree of implicitness. The choice of a discourse unit depends on the linguistic unit incorporated into meaningful discourse, i.e. the analyzed discourse unit can be represented by a lexeme, an attributive expression, a metaphoric expression, a clause or a suprasentential unit. Complex textual and discursive phenomena require consideration of extended discourse units, as Lemke (1998) suggests:

When we consider the meaning made by extended, cohesive texts that are not made in individual clauses we often encounter phenomena of language that reveal new semantic resources at the text level. This is particularly true of the semantics of evaluations because of its tendency toward ‘prosodic’ realizations, i.e. realizations that tend to be distributed through the clause and across clause and sentence boundaries (Lemke 1998:47).

- Description and interpretation involve the consideration of the socio-constructive role of the investigated strategy, and seek to explore the motives underlying the application of this particular strategy.
- The top dimension ‘Explanation’ deals with the ideological and societal motivations and consequences of this particular strategy and explore its semantic, stylistic and conceptual dimensions as well as its relation to other discourses. According to Fairclough

(1995), the researcher draws on the social theory to reveal the ideological underpinnings of interpretive procedures. Social theory creates the distance necessary to move from non-critical to critical discourse analysis.

I advocate that complete objectivity can never be achieved in discourse analysis taken the representational view of language and reality promoted in this thesis. It is important, however, to produce a principled and coherent analysis of empirical data which serves as a useful material for quantitative and qualitative analysis.

Manual search and count is one of the quantitative methods of Corpus Linguistics which is used in this paper. Manual search is indispensable at the initial stages of inquiry in order to establish certain patterns. Moreover, new patterns can arise; for that reason it is important to conduct a manual search and count. For instance, the search and count of representations of discourse participants (Chapter 4) or metaphor search (Chapter 5) can only be produced manually, as the initial hypothesis does not state precise linguistic expressions that need to be searched for. Also, manual search is especially beneficial in the analysis of small-scale corpora when considering the evaluative aspect of discourse, which requires the consideration of a large contextual data (Bednarek 2006: 8). Further on, quantification is required for the comparison of a larger textual data, such as evaluative SELF and OTHER representations in the Moderate and Radical Corpus. For this specific purpose, a concept of index of evaluative force is adopted from critical metaphor studies (Beer and De Landtsheer 2004).

Apart from quantitative calculations of the distribution of specific discursive phenomena, i.e. discourse metaphors, it involves qualitative comments on their discourse functions (cf. Bednarek 2006).

3.3.2. Levels of analysis

3.3.2.1. Macrolevel

The approach to the analysis of migration discourse chosen for this thesis is based on the analysis of two mutually interrelated levels. The analysis of ideological content in my paper at the macrolevel in this thesis is equated with the analysis of voice. I recall Bakhtin's definition of voice introduced in Chapter 1 where voices are defined as

... specific points of view on the world, forms for conceptualizing the world in words, specific worldviews, each characterized by its own objects, meanings and values. As such, they may be all juxtaposed to one another, mutually supplement one another, contradict one another, and be interrelated dialogically (Bakhtin 1981:291-2).

Through the investigation of categories at microlevel of discourse, I attempt to answer whether ideologies expressed in the analyzed units of discourse belong to one of the following ideologies typical of migration discourses:

- ethnicist discriminating/ racist or negative with respect to evaluative content;
- neutral with respect to evaluative content including ethnicist non-discriminating;
- pro-migration or positive with respect to evaluative content.

We see that Bakhtin envisages situations where voices can be used in juxtaposition to one another within one text and they can be interrelated dialogically. In such case, where a text/ situation exhibits characteristics of such dialogical use of voices, it is necessary to use elements of critical discourse analysis to distinguish the predominant voice. For example, it is important to distinguish between direct and represented discourse and find out what the function of represented statements is.

3.3.2.2. Microlevel of analysis

The microlevel of analysis is represented by the categories organized according to systemic-functional two-level approach to language content

(Halliday 1994). According to this approach, the analysis of content moves from the discourse semantic level to the level of lexicogrammar, i.e. from meanings to words and structures. Thus, the investigated categories can be organized as follows:

- Discursive strategies: referential, evaluative, (de)legitimizing, solidarity/distancing, mitigating and other sociosemantic strategies
- Cognitive and discourse semantic categories: discourse metaphors, conceptual metaphors and metonymies, image schemas, conceptual blends, discourse ontologies
- Lexis: nouns/ NPs, verbs/VPs, metaphoric expressions.

Following Wodak et al (1999/2009:34), I consider discursive strategies as more or less automated activity plans based on models of stereotyped activities on different levels of cognitive organization. Wodak et al. acknowledge the similarity between script, schema, frame and strategy, but an important characteristic of a discursive strategy is that it “is identified in terms of **planned** social (in our case, discursive) activities, of the **politico-or socio-psychological aims** or functions of these activities and of **linguistic means** designated to help realize these aims” (ibid., my emphasis).

To reflect the double nature of research, i.e. the sociocognitive approach and the social actors approach, the exact inventory of strategies in this thesis is an eclectic selection of discursive strategies offered by Chilton (2004), Van Dijk (1998a) and Van Leeuwen (1996). Most of them are summarized in Wodak et al. (1999/2009).

Extensive *sociosemantic* microstrategies that serve these aims are described by Van Leeuwen (1996), who focuses specifically on the representation of social actors in a text on immigration. Van Leeuwen identifies over 30 strategies and substrategies. Van Leeuwen (ibid.) acknowledges that the racist practices of representation that he identifies have constituted a CDA research object for many years. Specifically, in this

thesis I am concerned with the strategy of categorization as it provides the basis for the analysis of semantic attributes of SELF and OTHER discourse participants represented/ constructed in migration discourse.

Other strategies concern positivization and negativization of SELF and OTHER discourse participants, i.e. evaluation. According to Van Dijk (1991, 1995, 1998a), positive SELF representation - negative OTHER representation constitutes the basic conception of all racist discourses. Undoubtedly, evaluative strategies lie at the heart of migration discourse. Van Leeuwen (2008: 45) says that “social actors are appraised when they are referred to in terms which evaluate them as good or bad, loved or hated, admired or pitied. This is realized by the set of nouns and idioms that denote such appraisalment”. Fairclough comments on the importance of the consideration of these “more or less explicit or implicit ways in which authors commit themselves to values” Fairclough (2003: 171). An important point expressed in this statement concerns the textual embedding of evaluations, which is also true for other strategies. This means that evaluative strategies are seen from the point of view of their use by the authors of the texts comprising the corpus, i.e. predominantly journalists. Since I am interested, first of all, in how the evaluative dimension of migration discourse is represented in the media, rather than political groups or specific political actors, I will always consider the role of the authors of the analyzed texts in the construction/ representation of SELF and OTHER discourse identities. The conception of evaluation which is used in this paper most closely reflects the view expressed by Thompson and Hunston (2000:5), who consider evaluation as “the broad cover term for the expression of the speaker or writer’s attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feelings about the entities or propositions that he or she is talking about.” The ideological framework of SELF and OTHER construction/ representation is thus perceived as a matter of group creativity, rather than attributed to a politician quoted in the analyzed article to a journalist, or a newspaper which published this article. However, it is important to understand what attitude is taken towards these positive or negative

representations by the text authors, i.e. whether they approve or disapprove of specific ideological frameworks. Such a complex approach to evaluation has been best addressed by Martin (2000) and Martin & White (2005) in their Appraisal theory. Whereas traditional CDA approaches to evaluation do not account for such effects as described above, the Appraisal theory offers a comprehensive framework which can be applied to the analysis of ideological value-laden discourses, such as migration discourse. The Appraisal theory, which consists of the systems of Attitude, Engagement and Force, is used only for the analysis of Attitude and Engagement in the analyzed corpora. Chapter 4 will give a general overview of the analytical apparatus of the theory before the evaluative analysis.

Table 3.2 presents a general overview of the discursive strategies analyzed in this thesis:

Discursive strategies	Approaches
Referential -Categorizing	Van Leeuwen (1996)
Evaluative	Martin and White (2005)
Sociosemantic	Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999), Van Leeuwen (2008)
Distancing	Chilton (2004)

Table 3.2. Discursive strategies under analysis

The analysis of the aforementioned strategies is based on the identification, description and interpretation of (socio)cognitive and discourse semantic categories. As was described in Chapter 2, the discourse analysis is done under the consideration of several strands: Conceptual Blending Theory (Fauconnier and Turner 2002) which represents a development of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, Critical Metaphor Theory (Charteris-Black 2005) which explores the role of metaphors in the construction and representation of identities and ideologies, Barsalou's (1992) understanding

of frames and the use of frames in the representation of social actors which is combined with Van Leeuwen's (1996) sociosemantic inventory for categorization of social actors. Finally the realization of the above strategies and categories at the level of language use makes it necessary to draw attention to strategy-specific vocabulary expressed through nouns/NPs, verbs/VPs, metaphoric expressions and other types of expressions.

3.4. Conclusions

Chapter 3 sets out research questions, principles and limits for the choice of contextual data as well as the general framework and general methodology. Research questions are divided into main research question and subsidiary questions. They firstly concern identification of specific discursive strategies as well as linguistic and extralinguistic means in representing SELF and OTHER discourse participants. Secondly, there is a question of authorial participation in the attributed representations, i.e. their approval or disapproval of the journalists.

The approach to the analysis of the collected material is described as corpus-based (manual). Corpora are described with respect to their time frame, size, carriers of content and discourse type. There is also information on which of the corpora are verbal or multimodal. One of the sections is concerned with representativeness of language sample. The criteria for the representative language samples are chosen as unbiased, sufficient, efficient and consistent language samples at specific sampling points.

The methodology is described through referring to Critical Discourse Analysis as the major analytical framework and the description of this framework through the three-dimensional view of discourse offered by Fairclough (1995) and Van Dijk (1998a). Levels of analysis are identified as macro-level, which corresponds to the analysis of ideological voice, and micro-level, in which the investigated categories are organized in a top-down fashion: discursive strategies, cognitive and discourse semantic categories and lexis. Major discursive strategies are traditional CDA

categories, such as referential-categorizing, evaluative, sociosemantic and distancing, whereas cognitive categories are investigated through cognitive theories, such as Conceptual Blending Theory, Critical Metaphor Theory and Discourse Space Theory.

Pro-governmental and radical migration discourses in 2006: A study of referential-categorizing and evaluative strategies of SELF and OTHER

4.1. Rationale and Research questions

The following study explores how the concepts of SELF and OTHER are constructed in the Russian pro-governmental and radical discourses on migration in the autumn of 2006. It analyzes SELF and OTHER representations at the level of reference and establishes referential-categorizing and evaluative strategies.

Establishing referential strategies concerns the analysis of linguistic representations which are used to refer to SELF and OTHER discourse participants in both Moderate (pro-governmental) and Radical discourses. Categorization in this chapter is examined as a) a discursive strategy that instantiates the concept SELF/ OTHER through specific semantic features, and b) a socio-cognitive device that can be indicative of the promotion of an ideology. Both strategies are explored under one label referential-categorizing strategies in SECTION I. In Section I, the frequency of taxonyms used for the representation of SELF and OTHER discourse participants in the Moderate and Radical corpus is calculated on the basis of a specifically designed taxonomy. Specific examples are analyzed to find regularities of categorization in SELF and OTHER representations.

The analysis of evaluative strategies of SELF and OTHER representations builds upon the framework suggested by the Appraisal theory which is explicated and operationalized in Section II. The aim of this section is to find out how and according to which principles the SELF and OTHER representations analyzed in Section I are evaluated in the texts of the Moderate and Radical corpora.

Finally, discourse space ontology of SELF and OTHER representations based on the framework of discourse space theory is drawn

up in Section III. The aim of this section is to represent the interpersonal relationship between SELF and OTHER constructed in the texts of the analyzed corpora by constructing a conceptual discourse model for SELF and OTHER representations.

The study begins with the description of a background situation and previous research on Russian migration discourse in 2006. Each section opens with a description of data used for analysis and methodology.

My research questions for this study can be summarized as follows:

1. How are SELF and OTHER discourse participants reflected in the analyzed corpora? Does this indicate a discriminatory ideology?
2. To what extent does the 'ethnicization' in SELF and OTHER representations take place in the Moderate and Radical Corpus? Which sociosemantic strategies indicate the 'ethnicization' of contemporary Russian migration discourse?
3. To what extent are the Moderate and Radical Corpus similar in their use of referential-categorizing and evaluative strategies?
4. How do text authors indicate their evaluative positions towards SELF and OTHER representations provided in their articles?
5. How is the interpersonal relationship between SELF and OTHER conceptualized in contemporary Russian migration discourse?

As noticed earlier in the introduction, in post-Kondopoga migration discourse, Kozhevnikova (2007) emphasized the ethnization of concepts previously not laden with ethnic content, such as мигрант 'migrant', гражданин + Gen. 'citizen of', уроженец + Gen. 'native of', выходцы из/с + Gen. 'natives of'.³³ According to Kozhevnikova (ibid.), the characterization 'migrant' became fully void of its social connotation and obtained exclusively ethnic overtones.

Preliminary analysis of the corpus of articles on migration that I

³³ Wodak observes a similar semantic process in the analysis of the European (im)migration discourse where a *conflation* of two terms, i.e. 'immigrant' and 'asylum-seeker' leads to a mixed use of the two distinct concepts in the European media (Wodak 2006). She notes that the two previously semantically distinct are not constructed as separate any more and anyone who wants to enter the country is considered is illegal (Wodak 2006:186)

collected during late August 2006 to mid-Nov 2006 demonstrated that the characterizations such as гражданин ‘citizen’, мигрант ‘migrant’ etc. cannot be classified as ethnonyms out of hand. In what follows, I am going to prove that depending on the type of discourse and discursive functions such linguistic representations can be classified as either ethnonyms, politonyms, demonyms or just remain unresolved with regard to their semantic content.

My second point concerns the evaluation of OTHER discourse participants. According to Kozhevnikova (2007), the analysis of the pro-governmental media demonstrated the following distribution of a negative OTHER evaluation:

	Support of Hate Language	%	Neutral	%	Disclaiming Hate Language	%	Total
Total	321	60,8	127	24,05	80	15,15	528

Table 4.1. Use of hate language by the Russian media (adopted from Kozhevnikova 2007:18)

The results of the monitoring allow Kozhevnikova (2007) to make conclusions about “xenophobic aggression in the Russian mass media” (ibid.: 19, translation mine). This hypothesis will be tested on a number of texts arising from specific sources, i.e. the website of Moscow City Council and the website of the Movement against Illegal Migration (DPNI) with the aim of exploring whether such xenophobic aggression is typical of Moderate discourse at the same extent as of Radical discourse.

Section 1

4.2. Referential-categorizing strategies

4.2.1. Developing Methodology

4.2.1.1. From semantic to discourse analysis

In this study, I am using the term *linguistic representations* to refer to the lexicalized SELF and OTHER representations which categorize, describe and evaluate SELF and OTHER discourse participants. At the stage of identification of SELF and OTHER representations, I attempted to establish the categories for SELF and OTHER.

There are two principled ways to conduct analysis of SELF and OTHER representations which I entitle semantic and sociosemantic. Different outcomes can be received through the application of these two methods.

The analysis of the semantic content of SELF and OTHER representations is based on the structural approach to language. The tagging of linguistic items is conducted by means of the following taxonyms:

- ethnonyms, i.e. representations focusing on the ethnic origin of SELF and OTHER discourse participants;
- demonyms, i.e. representations focusing primarily on their provenance
- sociopolitonyms, i.e. representations highlighting various socio-political aspects apart from ethnicity.

Ideally, or in its conventional meaning, each taxonym reflects taxonym-specific attributes:

Semantic attributes	Taxonym	Examples (Values)
Nationality /Ethnicity Appearance Name	Ethnonym	азербайджанцы ‘Azerbaijani’ славянская внешность ‘Slavic appearance’ -швили ‘-shvili’
Provenance	Demonym	москвичи ‘Moscovites’
Citizenship Legal/illegal status	Sociopolitonym	гражданин ... ‘citizen’ незарегистрированные ‘non-registered’

Working relation/ occupation		работники торговли trade workers'
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Table 4.2. Taxonyms for SELF-OTHER categorization in their conventional meaning

However, the analysis of my corpus demonstrates that the above correspondence of taxonyms and semantic attributes is merely an idealized representation of the characterizations in their conventional, normative meanings. Their meanings negotiated discursively which appear in the analyzed abstracts demonstrate a considerable variation of formants within the aforementioned taxonym – attribute pairs. For instance, in contemporary Russian migration discourse the semantic attributes foregrounding nationality, geographical location, citizenship, socio-political status appear to shift into the category of ethnonyms³⁴.

The linguistic representations such as гастарбайтер ‘guest worker’, мигрант ‘migrant’, гражданин ‘citizen’, выходцы с Кавказа ‘natives of the Caucasus’, москвичи ‘Moscovites’, коренное население ‘local population’, соотечественники ‘compatriots’ have become so ambiguous that a special heuristics had to be introduced in order to identify or approximately identify their semantic attributes but also each example needs to be analyzed separately. Certain cases with discursively unresolved ambiguity also have to be considered separately, as ambiguity seems to be applied on purpose.

This is why semantic analysis should be supplemented by sociosemantic analysis based on the principles of discourse analysis. On the basis of Van Leeuwen’s research and a preliminary analysis of the corpus, the following attributes have been found as referring to SELF and OTHER discourse participants of migration discourse most frequently:

- 1) ethnicity,
- 2) citizenship,
- 3) physical identification,
- 4) provenance,

³⁴ This is precisely the phenomenon noticed by Kozhevnikova (2007).

5) occupation.

My understanding of occupation includes not only a professional training or current institutional position but various kinds of activities associated with certain groups of discourse participants. I follow Sacks (1972:333) in his studies of categorization who suggests that people tie particular activities to certain categories so that an identity may be inferred from the knowledge of this activity.

Other attributes relevant for the categorization of SELF and OTHER, as found in the preliminary analysis of the pilot corpus, are

7) legal status (legal or illegal),

8) settlement status (autochthonous population, migrant)

9) nomination³⁵.

These attributes can be seen as components of the cognitive identity frame as described by Barsalou (1992) that can be encountered in migration discourse. The application of Van Leeuwen's sociosemantic inventory will be used to test the major hypothesis based on Kozhevnikova's (2007) observations:

In contemporary Russian migration discourse various types of categorization can be used for ethnic classification of discourse participants.

It is under consideration of this hypothesis and after the identification of these category-shifting SELF and OTHER representations that the following semantic attributes will be assigned to SELF and OTHER representations: Ethnonym (E), Demonym (D), Sociopolitonym (SP), Ambiguous (A). The tag "Ambiguous" means that it was not possible to resolve ambiguity through analysing a discourse unit containing such an ambiguous expression. The tagged items are calculated manually in each corpus and the results appear in the tables of the next section. The results of the calculations in the Moderate and Radical corpus were compared and

³⁵ Nomination, i.e. naming a social actor by first and/or last names, is a separate category in Van Leeuwen's (1996) framework, however, he categorization by outlining that nomination serves to indicate unique identity, whereas categorization shows functions and identities which social actors share with other actors of their in-groups (ibid.: 52). My corpus demonstrates that names can serve as additional identifiers classifying discourse participants on a par with ethnicity, citizenship etc. The use of proper names can realize the strategy of generalization rather than individualization.

discussed.

The qualitative analysis is applied throughout the study to explain tendencies and generalizations arising in establishing referential-categorizing strategies.

The quantitative analysis which is based on the comparison of the frequency of the appearance of the tagged representations is presented separately for the Moderate and Radical corpus. The discussion of the statistical data follows the data. The qualitative analysis of ambiguous expressions concludes this section.

4.2.1.2. Contextual criteria

The following contextual factors have been considered while assigning semantic attributes:

1) extralinguistic factors:

- particular discourse-driving events result in the appearance of many event-specific taxonyms;
- in the discourse of the authoritative participants whose previous statements included ethnonyms the occurrence of ethnonyms is likely to be high.

2) local linguistic factors:

- Allusion to discourse-driving events though metonymic reference;
- evocation of cultural stereotypes containing ethnonyms is likely to highlight the semantic attributes typical of ethnonyms;
- lexemes such as славяне 'the Slavs', национальность 'nationality', диаспора 'diaspora', этнос 'ethnie', ксенофобия 'xenophobia' etc. and their derivatives славянский 'Slavic', этнический 'ethnic', межэтнический 'interethnic', ксенофобский 'xenophobic' etc. signal the presence of ethnonyms;
- if one member of dichotomized SELF-OTHER pair/ formant of a

semantic chain demonstrate the semantic attribute “ethnicity” then the other member/formant is likely to demonstrate the same semantic attribute;

- dichotomized representations in which SELF is positivized or neutralized and OTHER is negativized demonstrate that OTHER is likely to be represented in ethnic terms.

4.2.2. Results and discussion

4.2.2.1. Categorizing OTHER

Referring to ethnicity

Expectedly, most of the characterizations appearing in the Radical corpus in the articles produced or published by the DPNI are semantic ethnonyms, e.g.:

- 4.1) Кто не знает многократно опубликованные милицейские данные: наркотики провозят **таджики**, продают **цыгане** и **азербайджанцы**, крышуют **чеченцы**! Если твоим сыновьям предложили наркотик, благодари за это **иммигранта**. О бытовом мусоре и говорить нечего. Кто в доме хозяин?! Ответь себе сам, если ты русский, живущий на земле своих отцов!(RC, Text 2, 3.10.2006)

'Who does not know the police reports which have been published many times: drugs are transported by **Tajiks**, sold by **Gipsies** and **Azerbaijani**, sheltered by **Chechens**. If your sons have been offered drugs, thank **the immigrant**. Not to mention household rubbish. Who is the owner of the house?! Answer to yourself, if you are a Russian living on the soil of your ancestors.

The above extract is taken from an article which appeared on the DPNI site and which quotes the words of Alexandr Sevastyanov, the leader of the extremist radical movement National Imperial Party of Russia. Both SELF and OTHER characterizations in the extract are unambiguous ethnonyms. The DPNI thus borrows texts produced by other subjects of migration discourse to present their own extreme nationalistic position.

A similar effect can be notice in the Moderate corpus. Most ethnonyms appear in lexico-semantic chains which are related to each other through lexico-semantic connections. According to Hasan (1984), such chains belong to the same common semantic field, i.e. they demonstrate the same semantic attributes, e.g.:

- 4.2) В ходе исследования были опрошены более 3 тыс. респондентов – представителей пяти основных этнических групп – русского большинства, татар, азербайджанцев, армян, грузин.(МС, Rossiiskaia gazeta, 1.09.2006)

'During the survey, over 3 thousand respondents have been questioned; these were representatives of five major ethnic groups – of the Russian majority, Tatars, Azerbaijani, Armenians and Georgians'

Example (4.2) shows the specification of the generic representation более 3 тыс. Респондентов 'more than 3 thousand respondents', constructing a dichotomized lexical chain SELF -OTHER. SELF discourse participants are represented through the ethnically qualified phrase русское большинство 'Russian majority'. OTHER discourse participants are represented through the ethnonyms татары, азербайджанцы, армяне, грузины 'Tatars, Azerbaijani, Armenians, Georgians'. The hierarchy of interethnic relationship is built through breaking the principle of the alphabetic listing and placing the Tatars closer to “the Russian majority”, not due to ethnic (cultural, religious) closeness, but most probably due to their geopolitical closeness.

SELF-OTHER dichotomization in semantic chains is sustained throughout both Radical and Moderate corpus, e.g.:

- 4.3) Разговор о «гостях с юга», о «понаехавших» к нам азербайджанцах, армянах, грузинах, таджиках и представителях прочих национальностей, у нас либо неминуемо влечет за собой констатацию дремучей ксенофобии русского народа, который не понимает счастья жить бок о бок с работающими представителями других культуре, либо превращается в суровый плач на тему «русских людей обижают». (МС, Veshch, 28.08.2006)

'The conversation about guests from the South, about the Azerbaijani,

Armenians, Georgians, Tajiks and representatives of other ethnicities who have arrived in masses, either brings out statements about crass xenophobia of the Russian people who do not understand the happiness of living side by side with the representatives of other cultures, or it turns into a rigorous cry on the subject “The Russians are being insulted.”

Example (4.3) demonstrates a semantic chain built on the principle of highlighting ethnicity as a semantic attribute. The semantic chain for OTHER contains the following members: азербайджанцы 'Azerbaijani', армяне 'Armenians', грузины 'Georgians', таджики 'Tajiks', представители прочих национальностей 'representatives of other ethnicities', представители других культур 'representatives of other cultures'. The characterization «гости с юга» 'guests from the south' is ambiguous and if the “semantic chain” hypothesis is correct it has to be regarded as an ethnonym, too. The OTHER representations in the lexical chain of synonyms «понаехавшие» азербайджанцы, армяне, грузины, таджики 'Azerbaijani, Armenians, Georgians, Tajiks who have arrived in masses' are contrasted with the SELF representations русский народ 'Russian nation', русские люди 'Russian people' which cataphorically corefers with the pronouns к нам 'to our place', у нас 'at our place'. The referential ambiguity of the pronominal characterizations with a high degree of certainty can be resolved considering the semantic attributes of ethnonyms русский народ 'Russian nation', русские люди 'Russian people'. The chain of OTHER ethnonyms is explicated through qualified phrases представителях прочих национальностей 'representatives of other ethnicities' and работающими представителями других культур 'hard-working representatives of other cultures', both indicating the labelling of the lexical items in the synonymic chain as cultural ethnonyms. I suggest that the ethnic characterizations представителях прочих национальностей and представителями других культур highlights semantic attributes of all other members of this chain. All in all, it seems plausible that all the characterizations of the two dichotomized pairs SELF and OTHER in Example (4.3) are ethnonyms. Moreover, the colloquial representations «гости с юга» 'guests from the South' and «понаехавшие»

'arrived in masses' appear in quotation marks. It demonstrates the attempt of the authors of the text to either incorporate the voice of ordinary people and to distance themselves from them or it is the ironical echoing of the other voice in these two instances of represented discourse. This second voice, however, must be perceived as someone else's in order to create the double voiced effect reflected through parody (Bakhtin 1984), which is indicated in the above example through the quotation marks as a metalinguistic message.

In above examples, we see that specific ethnicities appear rather consistently in generalized representations. SELF discourse participants are consistently represented through the ethnonym русский 'Russian', OTHER discourse participants are most frequently those whose ethnies can stereotypically be found in the Caucasus, Central Asia, but also in Russia, such as the Tatars.

Less frequently, but also very often such ethnic groups as украинцы 'Ukrainians' and китайцы 'Chinese' are mentioned as OTHER discourse participants, e.g.:

(4.4) **Сколько человек вы выдворили в этом году? [...]**– География самая разнообразная. Но лидируют Узбекистан, Таджикистан.[...].– **Грузин сколько выдворено?** – Около 5 тысяч человек. – **Китайцы есть?**– Китайцы тоже выдворяются. (МС, Rossiiskaia gazeta, 24.10.2006)

'- **How many people have you deported this year?** [...] - The geography is diverse. But the leaders are Uzbekistan, Tadjikistan [...]. -How many Georgians have been deported? About 5, 000 people. - Are there any Chinese? - The Chinese are also being deported. '

The above example stems from an interview with the Head of Federal Migration Service Konstantin Romanovskiy. The journalist sets the tone in suggesting a classification according to the countries from where illegal migrants come. In this classification, which Romanovskiy recontextualizes in his reply, migrants are dehumanized and metonymically represented as countries of their origin. In the second part of the excerpt, the journalist switches the basis of classification to ethnicity and again, the

interviewee recontextualizes the new classification in his reply. It is remarkable, that representatives of some ethnicities are praised for being more law-abiding, and they, i.e. the Chinese and the Ukrainians, are compared according to the fact of how law-abiding they are.

Physical identification

Very often OTHER representations describe physical appearance, names or occupation, or the distorted or accentuated speech of OTHER discourse participants which can be described as cultural stereotypes.

The representation of people's physical appearance in the examples below contains reference to the colour of the hair, skin colour and facial features of migrants through adjectives and nouns both in the Moderate and in Radical corpus:

- (4.5) Продавщиц из местных, стоящих за прилавками, санэпиднадзор обязан проверять на разные заболевания, в т.ч. венерические. Но кто и когда проверяет **их черноволосых хозяев**? (RC, Text 2, 3.10.2006)

'The local sales women behind the counters are obliged to be checked by public health authorities for various illnesses, including venereal illnesses. However, who and when checks their black-haired employers?'

- (4.6) [...] фермер приехал на рынок в провинциальном городе, заплатил за аренду прилавка и стал торговать своей картошкой. Его тут же начали обижать **носатые брюнеты**, которых на рынке большинство (MC, Profil', 16.10.2006)

'[...] a farmer came to the market in a provincial town, rented out a counter and started selling his potatoes. Immediately, he started being insulted by **nosey dark-haired men**, who comprise the majority at the market.'

- (4.7) — Кто не пускает?! — вступает в дебаты **смуглая черноволосая дива рубенсовских размеров, торгующая редиской**. — Да они сами работать не хотят! Вот ты скажи, какой русский будет здесь, как я, с восьмью до восьмью вкалывать? [...] Пожилая дама с сумкой на колесиках решила вступить за русскую нацию: — А зато вы нас поработить хотите! Я знаю! У моего внука в школе **ваших цыганят** уж полкласса учится, и дерутся они все время! — Поработи-и-и-и-

ть! — передразнила старушку **мадонна с редиской**. (МС, Profil', 16.10.2006)

“Who is not letting them?” The debate is joined by a dark-complexioned diva of Rubencian measurements who is selling radishes. “They themselves do not want to work. Tell me which Russian will be slaving away, like me, from 8 till 8?” [...] An elderly lady with a wheelie bag decides to intervene on behalf of the Russian nation: “You want to enslave us! I know! In my grandchild’s class, there are half the class of your Gipsy kids, and they fight all the time. “Enslave!” cried the Madonna with the radish in a mocking manner.’

All of the above examples mention the black hair colour of the OTHER discourse participants which stereotypically represents the southern type of persons from the Caucasus and Middle Asia. This type of categorization has been discussed by Van Leeuwen (1996, 2008) as physical identification: “It provides social actors with a unique identity in the temporary or permanent absence of nomination, and does so by means of a salient detail.” (2008:46) According to Van Leeuwen (ibid.), physical attributes tend to have connotations, and these can be used not only to describe physicality but also to classify social actors obliquely, often through exaggeration. The above examples demonstrate such blurring of physical identification and classification according to non-specific ethnicity alluding to the fact that most migrants in the markets are of Caucasian and Middle Asian provenance and physical type. Examples (4.5) and (4.6) are taken from the article entitled Рынок мордой не вышел 'lit. The market came out with a different face' which alludes at such a conflation immediately in the title. Interestingly, the representation of SELF discourse participants, such as Продавщиц из местных 'local sales women', фермер 'farmer', Пожилая дама с сумкой на колесиках 'a middle-aged woman with a wheelie bag ' (presumably a customer) is based not on physical identification, but on functionalization. Bringing to mind the COMMERCIAL EVENT frame (Fillmore 1982), we see that the roles of the agents performed by SELF discourse participants in this frame are both Seller (Examples 4.5 and 4.6) and Buyer (Example 4.7), who are suffering or experiencing discomfort on the account of the actions of OTHER discourse participants. The latter have a more favourable economical status than SELF discourse participants in

the context of COMMERCIAL EVENT. Surprisingly, the inclusion of the SPEECH EVENT frame into the COMMERCIAL EVENT frame demonstrates a native-like use of lexis and grammar of the register appropriate to the situation on the part of the OTHER discourse participant *мадонна с редиской* 'madonna with a radish' (Example 4.7). Lexico-grammatical constructions fully conform to the norms of the Russian language, and the use of slang is appropriate for the situation. The author of the transcribed (or imaginary) dialogue clearly demonstrates the saliency to the physical difference of the OTHER discourse participant in Example 4.7, even though this participant's linguistic abilities are represented as native-like.

The semantic chains can be constructed for the messages represented through direct speech, as in Example (4.8) from the Moderate Corpus:

- (4.8) «**Африканцы**-старшекурсники, например, вручают **землякам**-первокурсникам памятки, когда, в какие дни и часы **лицам с неславянской внешностью** лучше в городе не появляться. (МС, Rossiiskaia gazeta, 8.11.2006)

'African postgraduates, for example, hand in memos to their undergraduate fellow students informing them on which days and at which hours people with a non-Slavic appearance are better not to go out in the streets.'

Example (4.8) demonstrates the semantic chain for the OTHER which contains the following characterizations: *Африканцы-старшекурсники* 'African postgraduates', *земляки-первокурсники* 'fellow freshers', *лица с неславянской внешностью* 'persons with a non-Slavic appearance'. Similarly to the OTHER representation *кавказцы* 'people from the Caucasus', the representation *африканцы* 'Africans' is a generalized representation of the people indicating their provenance. This is the last member of the aforementioned semantic chain, i.e. an ethnonym that emphasizes the non-Slavic appearance highlights the semantic attributes of the other members of the chain. The representation *студент Университета дружбы народов* 'a student of the University of People's Friendship' remains ambiguous with respect to his identification as it only indicates the

occupational status of the discourse participant. However, the way the OTHER discourse participants are represented (3rd person Plural) allows for the suggestion that the student belongs to the non-African group. Moreover, he most possibly associates himself with the SELF group which singles out лица с неславянской внешностью 'persons with non-Slavic appearance'.

Allport (1987) holds that visual categories help to ease perception and lead therefore to a corresponding categorization of individuals along these lines. Nevertheless, the sociologist Anthony Giddens identifies such physical identification as clearly racist. He describes racial differences as "physical variations singled out by the members of a community or society as ethnically significant." (Giddens 1989: 244) Representations of OTHER discourse participants, such as неславянская внешность 'non-Slavic appearance' can be considered racist in migration discourse, as it is based on physical identification.

Characterization of speech

The characterization of speech of OTHER discourse participants is a frequent strategy in the Moderate corpus:

- (4.9) «Очень хорошо помню это страшное ощущение, когда идешь вечером домой через рынок и слышишь этот вызывающий смех, сплошь нерусскую речь, перемежающуюся русским “эй, ыды суда” (а потом опять смех), видишь **этих людей**... Стоило только немного наладиться русскому социуму, как ситуация коренным образом изменилась. (МС, Veshch, 28.08.2006)

'I remember too well this frightening sensation, when in the evening you go through the market and you hear this provocative laughter, only non-Russian speech, filled with the [corrupted] Russian “Hey, you, go here” (and then again laughter), you see these people... Barely could the Russian social sphere improve, the situation has changed fundamentally.'

- (4.10) Не все москвичи хотят обучать своих детей в школах, где в классах треть учащихся, а то и больше составляют **ребята из семей мигрантов**. Они зачастую недостаточно владеют русским, держатся обособленно своим землячеством, порой ведут себя агрессивно. (МС, Moskvichka, 1.09.2006)

'Not all Muscovites want their children to go to the schools where a third of the class or even more, are children from migrants' families. They often have an insufficient command of the Russian language and keep separately together with their community, sometimes they act aggressively.'

(4.11) Моя твоя не понимает. И не собирается понимать (headline)

... А родительница из Южного Бутова пожаловалась, что её пятилетний ребёнок, посещая соседний садик, начал говорить с акцентом (!), потому что **большинство воспитательниц — «приезжие»**. (МС, Argumenty I fakty, 11.10.2006)

'My don't understand yours. And does not want to understand.
... And a mum from South Butovo complained that her five-year-old child while attending a nursery started speaking with an accent because most of the nursery staff are migrants.'

(4.12) На одном языке, но с разными акцентами (headline)

Вчера в Таврическом дворце Санкт-Петербурга открылся II Всемирный конгресс **соотечественников** ... (МС, Gazeta, 25.10.2006)

'One language but different accents
Yesterday, a congress of co-patriots opened in Tavricheskiy Palace, Saint-Petersburg.'

The distorted or accented speech is represented either through the recontextualization of the migrants' direct speech (Example 4.9) or through the indirect assessment of the language competence (Examples 4.10, 4.11 and 4.12). Either phonetic accents (Examples 4.11 and 4.12) or ungrammaticality (Example 4.9) can be brought to attention. The linguistic incompetence or accent is represented as a negative differentiating value (Example 4.11) unless the accent is attributed to the ambiguous category of *соотечественник* 'compatriot' (Example 4.12). In Example 4.12, accents represent the diversity of the countries of residence of the so-called 'co-patriots', rather than any deficiency, and they are void of negative evaluation.

Nomination

Both SELF and OTHER discourses participants can be represented through the strategy of nomination, i.e. identification through names (Van Leeuwen

1996). However, the nomination through proper names in migration discourse can both 1) demonstrate a unique identity of a discourse participant and 2) allude to identities and functions that the discourse participant(s) share(s) with other member of the respective in-group. In the first case, the interviews are typically provided with the indication of the name and an institutional function of the interviewee. In the second case, both SELF and OTHER names are the most stereotypical Russian/ non-Russian names which metonymically stand for the whole ethnicity or nation. When OTHER names are mentioned, often it is first or last Georgian, Armenian or other non-Slavic stereotypical names, e.g.:

- 4.13) Посмотрите, кто там фигурирует в различных задачах, упражнениях: ивановы, петровы, сидоровы. А где **махмудовы, саркисяны, юсуповы** (МС, Moskvichka, 1.09.2006)

'See, who feature in various tasks: the Ivanovs, Petrovs, Sidorovs. A where are the Makhmudovs, Sarkisians, Iusupovs?'

- (4.14) ...**швили**, гоу хоум! (МС, Gazeta, 5.10.2006)

'...shvili, go home!'

- 4.15) Палаточник Вася, «отстегнув» чиновнику за разрешение и бандиту за «крышу», потом очень хорошо «наблюдается» налоговыми органами. А палаточник **Тофик**, произведя соответствующие «отстежки», с налогового горизонта исчезает. (RC, Text 17)

'The salesperson Vasia, after having bribed an official for a licence and a bandit for "shelter", then is under strict control of the tax authorities. And the salesman Tofik, after having made the corresponding "payments", disappears from the fiscal horizon.'

- (4.16) This means, while Ivan is mentally struggling through the meaning of the word 'business-plan', Mamed, Levon and Givi already know whom to pay, how much to pay, and they open their trade business.(RC, 12.10.2006, Text 19)

'То есть, пока Иван еще мучительно продумывает значение слова 'бизнес-план', **Мамед, Левон или Гиви** уже знают, кому проплатить, сколько проплатить и открывают свою торговлю.'

Examples (4.13) and (4.14) appear in the Moderate corpus, whereas

Examples (4.15) and (4.16) appear in the Radical corpus, i.e. similar strategies are used in both pro-governmental and radical discourse on migration. SELF and OTHER discourse participants are distinguished through the most common Russian and non-Russian names of various ethnicities. Generalization in Example (4.13) is emphasised graphically through the lack of capitalization of the last names. Example (4.14), which appears in the headline as an ironical fictitious represented statement, evokes associations with the famous line “Yankee, go home!” through alliteration between the characterization Yankee and the Georgian last name ending -швили '-shvili'. Examples (4.15) and (4.16) both use the generic singular form representing metonymically the ethnicity of SELF and OTHER through the most common Russian and non-Russian names of various ethnicities. In both examples the SELF discourse participants are presented as simple-minded and inexperienced in the market business whereas the OTHER discourse participants are shown as shrewd and street-wise. The strategy of denial is realized in Example (4.16) with regard to the alluded ethnicity which confirms the presence of ethnically centred references.

Referring to occupation

Not accidentally references to markets are ubiquitous in connection with OTHER discourse participants. The stereotypical occupation for the migrants from the Caucasus and Middle Asia which reverberates in Examples (4.17) and (4.18) is considered trading in the markets, although various other occupations are found in the articles. Both the Moderate and Radical corpus contain references to торговцы 'sales persons' and рынки 'markets', e.g.:

- 4.17) Каждая четвертая студенческая койка в общежитии продана **нелегальным торговцам с рынка**. (МС, Rossiiskaia gazeta, [28.08.2006](#))

'Every forth student bed in the halls of residence is sold to illegal trades men from the market.'

- 4.18) По словам Константина Полторанина, особенно квоты затронут мегаполисы: "В Москве не нужно столько **людей, работающих на рынке**". (МС, Kommersant, 1.11.2006)

'According to Konstantin Poltoranin, the quota will especially concern megalopolises: "There is no need in Moscow for so many people working in the markets."

Here the meaning of the representation **людей, работающих на рынке** 'people working in the market' can be only constructed through accessing the background knowledge structure containing cultural stereotypical information about the markets in contemporary Russia, i.e. markets are the workplace of the non-Russian people from the Caucasus and Middle Asia. No ethnicities are named directly as the ethnicization is realized through allusion to the stereotypical occupation of the Caucasian and Middle Asian migrants as trading in the markets.

Referring to provenance

Apart from referring to provenance through metonymically conceptualizing migrants as countries (see Example 4.4), there are various ways of revealing ethnicities by referring to the region of origin of SELF and OTHER discourse participants, e.g.:

- (4.19) В Твери задержаны **сбытчики героина, уроженцы Таджикистана и Узбекистана**
[...] В состав группы входили **трое мужчин (двое таджикской национальности и один узбекской национальности)**, проживавших на территории России с нарушением эмиграционного законодательства, и работавших на стройке. (РС, 15.11.2006, Text 3)

'Heroin-dealers, natives of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan have been detained in Tver (headline)

[...] Among members of the group, there were three men (two of Tajik ethnicity and one of Uzbek ethnicity) who were living on the territory of Russia in breach of Russian legislation and who were working at a construction site.'

- (4.20) Русский бунт был направлен против **выходцев с Кавказа** - вроде бы налицо махровейший национализм. С другой стороны,

поводом для драки послужило не желание совершать намаз, а заурядная пьяная поножовщина, которая регулярно случается и в сугубо славянских кругах. (МС, Gazeta, 5.09.2006)

'The Russian revolt was directed against the natives of the Caucasus – it looked like mere nationalism. On the other hand, the fight was not motivated by an intention to do the namaz, but a banal drunken knife fight, which quite often happens in purely Slavic circles.'

Examples (4.19) and (4.20) demonstrate that the most frequent way of representing OTHER discourse participants in criminal news is through mentioning their origin. Despite the similarity to demononyms, these representations serve to highlight the ethnicity of the alleged criminals. In Example (4.19), the OTHER representations in the headline уроженцы Таджикистана и Узбекистана 'natives of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan' are later rephrased as двое таджикской национальности и один узбекской национальности 'two of the Tajik ethnicity and one of the Uzbek ethnicity' which show their emphasis on ethnic identity and serve as ethnonyms.

Example (4.20) illustrates how the expression выходцы с Кавказа 'natives of the Caucasus' is used to represent OTHER discourse participants as criminals. The modalizing phrase вроде бы 'it looked like' is used to question the ethnic background of the conflict in Kondopoga, however, SELF discourse participants are indirectly described through ethnic terms, i.e. Русский бунт 'Russian revolt' and славянские круги 'Slavic circles'. This suggests that the expression выходцы с Кавказа 'natives of the Caucasus' is also used as an ethnonym.

The Caucasus is the region which particularly often arises to identify OTHER discourse participants. Unlike the attributive description "Caucasian" in English, the Russian attribute кавказский 'Caucasian' is not used to describe a race. The meaning of this attribute is restricted to the description of an animate or inanimate object pointing at its geographical origin. However, it can be used to point at a genericized ethnicity of a suspect/ detainee, which is typically used in criminal news, as in Example (4.21):

4.21) Сейчас шестеро подозреваемых, **лиц кавказской**

национальности, уже задержаны,[...]. (МС, Vlast', 11.10.2006)

'Now, six suspects, persons of the Caucasian ethnicity, have been detained'.

Example (4.21) shows how ethnicity is discussed in the expression *кавказской национальности* 'of the Caucasian ethnicity' which acts as a generic characterization especially in the criminal news for anyone originating from the Caucasus region. The same effect can be observed in Example (4.22) where the personification of a conflict is achieved through mentioning the ethnicity of its participants:

4.22) Бытовой конфликт **кавказской национальности**. (МС, Gazeta, 5.09.2006)

An everyday conflict of the Caucasian ethnicity.

Example (4.22) illustrates how the phrase *кавказской национальности* 'of the Caucasian nationality/ ethnicity', stereotypically used to describe human beings is employed in the description of the situation in which OTHER discourse participants are criminalized.

Finally, Example (4.23) uses the OTHER representation *кавказцы* 'people from the Caucasus', which acquires the semantic value of an ethnonym in migration discourse:

(4.23) Собственно, вопрос даже не в том, есть в России ксенофобия или нет. Есть, в той или иной степени она неизбежна в любом государстве. Куда хуже то, что наша почва, банальные коммунально-бытовые условия дают массу поводов для общего недовольства жизнью, которое рано или поздно будет проецироваться на вполне конкретных просто богатых или просто **кавказцев**. И совсем паршиво, что в какой-то момент отправная точка, тот же кондопожский ресторан «Чайка», забудется. (МС, Gazeta, 5.09.2006)

'That is, it is not a question of whether xenophobia exists in Russia or not. It does exist; it is to some extent unavoidable in every state. What is worse, is that our ground, everyday communal circumstances give lots of reasons for commonplace discontent with life, which will sooner or later be projected to specific simply rich or simply Caucasians. And what is particularly bad, is that at some point a point of reference, such as the Kondopoga restaurant

“Chaika” will be forgotten.'

The other representation кавказцы 'people from the Caucasus' appears in the context framed by ксенофобия 'xenophobia' and reference to the discourse-driving event which took place in the Kondopoga restaurant “Chaika”. Example (4.23) appears to suggest that there is no connection between xenophobia and the ethnonym кавказцы 'people from the Caucasus' and xenophobia is represented as something commonsensical. The ethnic conflict in Kondopoga is presented in criminal terms, as уголовщина 'crime'. These are the discursive techniques of denial and legitimization of xenophobia typical of racist discourse (Wodak and Van Dijk 2000).

Metonymic reference to discourse-driving events

Frequently some discourse-driving events become part of a large background knowledge structure and mere mentioning of such events in discourse can activate an inferential chain. For example, the name of the town Kondopoga emerged in socio-political discussion after the interethnic disorders in the Karelian town of Kondopoga in 2006 and it has been widely used in sociopolitical debates, e.g.:

- 4.24) О.БЫЧКОВА: Вадим из Красного села спрашивает: «Чем ваша «русская идея» отличается от «Кондопоги»? Кондопога как понятно что». (Radio "Echo of Moscow", programme "We", 5.05.2010, 22:08)

'O.Bychkova: Vadim from the village Krasnoe selo is asking: 'In what way is your “Russian idea” different from “Kondopoga”? Kondopoga as you know what’.

- 4.25) А.ПРОХАНОВ: Ксенофобия – это норма, когда идет смешение народов, когда идет столкновение интересов, когда идут массовые такие ударные приливы этнообразований - это естественно вполне. И удивительно еще, что в России всего одна Кондопога была – это говорит о том, что русский народ очень терпелив, очень веротерпим, очень толерантен.(Radio

"Echo of Moscow", programme "Osoboe mnenie", 21.01.2009, 17:08)

'A.Prokhanov: Xenophobia is the norm when people are mixing, when interests are clashing, when mass tidal waves of ethnic formations are coming – this is quite natural. And it is surprising that there was only one Kondopoga in Russia – this tells us that the Russian people are very patient, very tolerant.'

Both examples mention the name of Kondopoga in their discussions concerning ethnicity and interethnic relations. Kondopoga as a geographical proper name stands here for interethnic clashes, i.e. the type of metonymy is place-for-event. In both excerpts participants are reluctant to use the direct description of the event and prefer to allude to interethnic disorders through a metonym referring to the place where the event occurred. The meaning of interethnic clashes is triggered by specific discourse markers. In example (4.24), the metonym appears in the context of the discussion on the philosophical construct Русская идея 'Russian idea' which currently has a very strong ethnicist connotation to which a listener alludes in his question. The listener establishes a common ground with the journalist and the expert through the phrase Кондопога как понятно что 'Kondopoga as you know what'. In Example (4.25), the ethnicist interpretation is triggered by the expressions Ксенофобия 'xenophobia' and массовые такие ударные приливы этнообразований 'mass explosive tidal waves of ethnic formations'. The noun Ксенофобия 'xenophobia' identifies the global topic of the current strand of discussion whereas the discourse metaphor MIGRATION IS DANGEROUS WATERS (see Chapter 5) evoked by the latter metaphorical expression unambiguously points at the metonymical connection of the name of Kondopoga standing for interethnic clashes with the domain of migration. In the case of Example (4.25), it can be suggested that the metonymy is used as a basis of a presupposition for the purpose of mitigation of a negative emotional effect, i.e. avoiding mentioning a straightforward interpretation of interethnic clashes in favour of a less evaluative metonym. Kondopoga as a metonym for interethnic clashes is not completely void of evaluative content, however, but it is only activated for those interlocutors, who have established a common ground in terms of

cultural knowledge of the metonymized events. The name Kondopoga in the above examples appears as a part of the mental space which is structured by the CONFLICT frame. Hence, the geographical place stands in a metonymical connection with the actual activities performed by SELF and OTHER discourse participants, i.e. the interethnic clashes in Kondopoga in 2006.

The name Kondopoga if it appears in the text not directly describing the discourse-driving events in Kondopoga will still indirectly allude to these events highlighting the ethnic attributes of SELF and OTHER discourse participants. For example, an article which appears in the Radical corpus under the title В ожидании новой Кондопоги 'Expecting a new Kondopoga' (RC, Text 13, 18.09.2006) does not describe the situation in Kondopoga. The article starts with a title that contains a direct reference to the events in Kondopoga and finishes with the sentence Интересно, успеют они её изучить до того, как произойдёт новая Кондопога? 'We are curious to see if they will manage to explore it before a new Kondopoga happens?' Such a frame can activate a background knowledge structure which describes the conflict in Kondopoga in ethnic terms, i.e. the name of the town metonymically stands for the interethnic conflict. The metonym Kondopoga is an instance of shared knowledge between the author and the reader and it is used indexically to evoke a background knowledge structure which contains associations with ethnic-related conflicts.

4.2.2.2. Analysis of statistical data

The frequency of representations of SELF and OTHER discourse participants was calculated according to the types of taxonyms outlined earlier in both corpora.

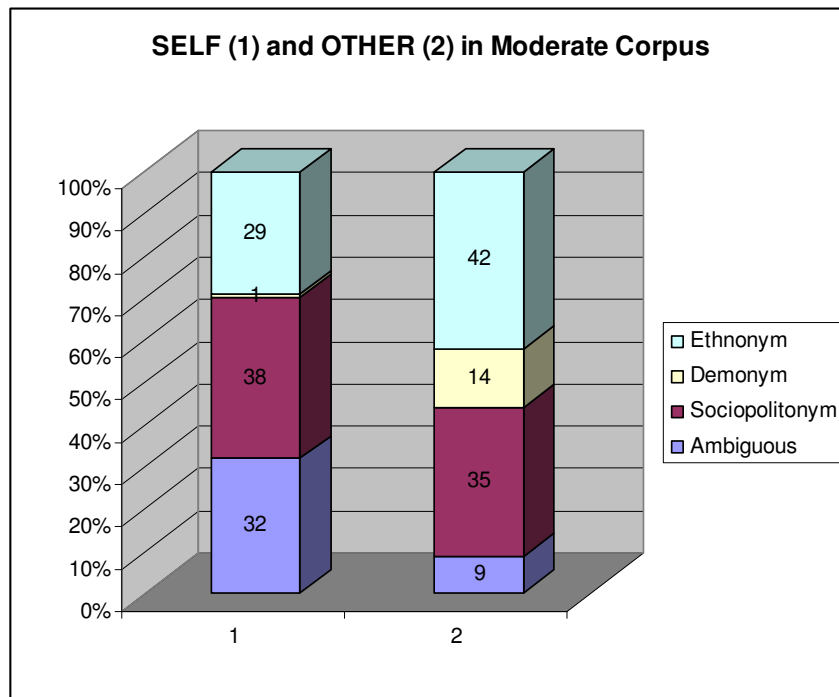


Chart 4.1a. SELF and OTHER in Moderate corpus (total usages: 773)

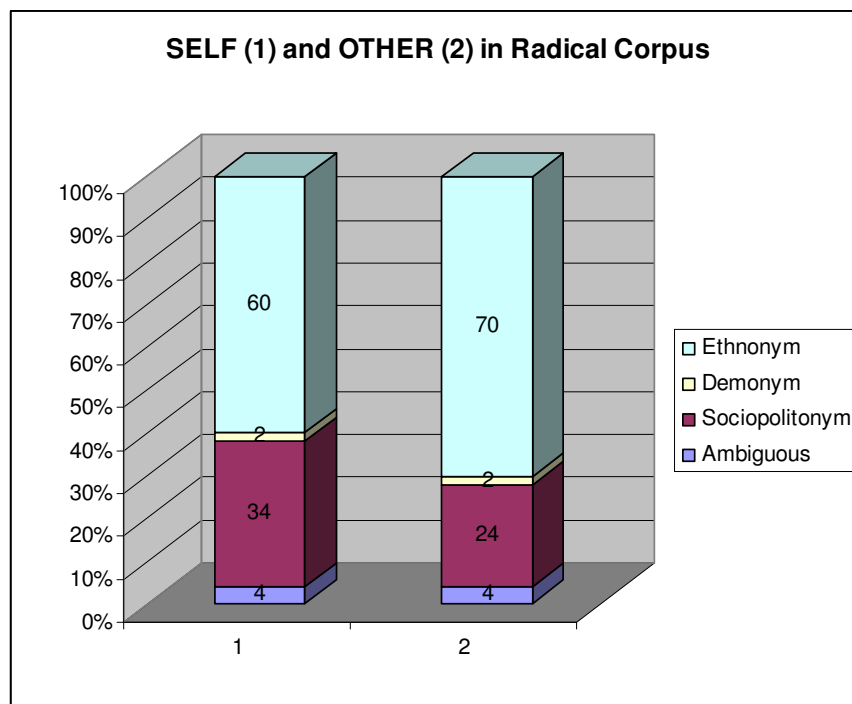


Chart 4.1b. SELF and OTHER in Radical corpus (total usages: 248)

The results demonstrate that both in the Radical and in the Moderate Corpus ethnonyms are the most frequent means of characterization for OTHER discourse participants, and their number is considerably higher in

the Radical Corpus where such taxonyms prevail (70% in the Radical Corpus versus 42% in the Moderate Corpus). These are expected results, since the radical rhetoric with regard to migrants first of all focuses on the ethnic differences as noted in the previous studies. Ethnonyms are used for SELF representation significantly less in the Moderate Corpus than in the Radical Corpus (29% in the Moderate corpus versus 60% in the Radical corpus). Instead, sociopolitonyms are the most frequent means of SELF characterizations in the Moderate corpus (38% for SELF characterization and 35% for OTHER representation. This can be explained by the tendency of the authors of the publications to use attributions to political and socially significant figures of the Russian Federation with a strong category entitlement for SELF characterizations in the interpersonal positioning.

The number of pure demonyms is insignificant (less than 1%) in both the Moderate and in the Radical Corpus. However, this is not due to the fact that the authors are trying to conceal the provenance. Instead, the semantic attribute of provenance becomes part of an ethnic identity, thus producing such semantic values as лица кавказской национальности 'persons of the Caucasian nationality/ ethnicity', выходцы с Кавказа 'natives of the Caucasus', кавказцы 'the Caucasians', выходцы из Средней Азии 'natives of Asia', южане 'Southerners', лица южной национальности 'persons of Southern nationality'. Here, the name of the region is important because of the associations which include various kinds of information typical of ethnonyms listed previously, such as stereotypical occupations, physical appearance that is attributed to representatives of the ethnicities from the South of the post-Soviet space. The actual ethnicity is not significant and it can be suggested that the exact geographical region is not particularly important in some examples, as the geographical region of South unifies both the Caucasus and the Middle Asia.

Compare the following examples:

- 4.26) «Одновременно сильно выросла численность **выходцев с Кавказа**, вызвав соответствующую реакцию московского населения: совокупная доля **представителей различных народов Кавказа** в Москве превысила 4,5 процента, т.е. выросла в пять раз. Это превратило **кавказцев** в наиболее заметную группу, примерно равноценную по численности

украинцам с белорусами и более представительную, чем **татары...**». (RC, Text 17)

'Simultaneously, the number of natives of the Caucasus has risen causing a corresponding reaction of the Moscow population: the cumulative share of representatives of various people from the Caucasus in Moscow has increased 4.5%, i.e. it has risen fivefold. This turned the Caucasians into a most noticeable group, numerically approximately similar to Ukrainians and Belorussians and more representative than Tatars.'

- 4.27) [...] линия межэтнического разлома четко проходит по базарному прилавку: по одну его сторону – **выходцы с Кавказа**, по другую – коренные жители[...] Жалобы на «засилье **кавказцев**» – неотъемлемый элемент частных бесед не только в провинции, но и в столице. (МС, Biznes, 5.09.2006)

'[...] the line of the interethnic rift goes strictly through the market counter. On one side of it, there are natives of the Caucasus, on the other side – there are the local population. [...] Complaints about the stranglehold of Caucasians are an essential element of private conversations not only in the provinces, but also in the capital.'

- 4.28) ГУВД Москвы ранее сообщало, что в российской столице проживает более 50 тысяч **выходцев из Грузии**, то есть на порядок меньше, чем, скажем, **азербайджанцев**. Тем не менее слова "**грузин**" и "**нелегал**" прочно ассоциируются в общественном сознании как синонимы (МС, Gazeta, 5.10.2006)

[...] The Moscow Police Headquarters reported earlier that more than 50 thousand natives of Georgia live in Moscow, i.e. considerably less than, say, Azerbaijani. Nevertheless, the words "Georgian" and "illegal" are strongly associated in public perception as synonyms. [...]

In Example (4.26) the representation **выходцы с Кавказа** 'natives of the Caucasus' is used synonymically with the representation **представители различных народов Кавказа** 'representatives of various peoples of the Caucasus' and **кавказцы** 'people from the Caucasus'. These OTHER discourse participants are contrasted with other ethnic groups, and so we may assume that the representation **выходцы с Кавказа** 'natives of the Caucasus' demonstrates semantic attributes for ethnicity as a generalized representation of all ethnic groups from the region of the Caucasus. The negative evaluation on the part of the local population is alluded to in the phrase **вызвав соответствующую реакцию** 'causing a respective reaction'.

Examples 4.27 and 4.28 discuss discourse-driving events, i.e. clashes in Kondopoga and the Russo-Georgian crisis. Both discourse units evoke ethnic attributes in *выходцы с Кавказа* 'natives of the Caucasus' and более 50 тысяч выходцев из Грузии 'more than 50,000 natives of Georgia'. Both examples offer a negative evaluation of OTHER discourse participants expressed through the negatively connotated phrase *засилье кавказцев* 'stranglehold of the Caucasians' and constructing an associative semantic chain between the ethnicity *грузин* 'Georgian' and the negative sociopolitonym *нелегал* 'an illegal'. OTHER discourse participants are openly delegitimized in Example 4.28 through indication of their alleged illegal status.

Both Example 4.27 and Example 4.28 use recontextualized material attributed to more authoritative sources to construct OTHER representations. Example 4.27 uses the reported speech construction *Судя по сообщениям СМИ* 'according to media reporting' attributing the provided representations to the generalized anonymous media. Example 4.28 quotes specifically the authoritative SELF discourse participant *ГУВД Москвы* 'police head quarters of Moscow' as a source of ethnically-specific OTHER representations. Later in this chapter, attributed statements will be explored in more detail as different analytical tools are required to assess the authorial engagement with the attributed proposition.

Our previous discussion of examples shows a large number of ambiguous expressions with respect to semantic attributes expressed in the discourse units analyzed. The next section focuses on some such ambiguous expressions and their function in migration discourse.

4.2.2.3. Analysis of ambiguous representations

As the statistical results in Chart 1 demonstrate, ambiguous expressions remain unresolved mostly in the Moderate corpus for SELF representations (32%) and considerably less for OTHER representations (9%). The number of ambiguous representations for both SELF and OTHER in the Radical corpus was found to be insignificant (both 4%). This leads us to the

conclusion that the use of semantic ambiguity is typical of moderate pro-governmental discourse on migration rather than of radical. The fact that so many ethnonyms have acquired the status of ambiguity suggests that ambiguity is used purposefully.

I would now like to focus on specific instances of semantically ambiguous expressions in my corpus that either remain unresolved or pose a certain difficulty in identifying their specific semantic attributes.

Соотечественник 'Compatriot'

The most essential ambiguous characterization for the category of SELF which was negotiated amongst the discourse participants between August and November 2006 was соотечественники, i.e. persons who were allowed to settle down in Russia under the umbrella of the resettlement of co-patriots project.³⁶ The Federal Law “On the federal policy of the Russian Federation towards fellow citizens living abroad” from 24.05.1999 defines соотечественники 'compatriots' in the following way:

Compatriots are the persons who were born in one state, have lived in it and possess common characteristics, such as language, religion, cultural heritage, traditions and customs, as well as the bodily descendants of the persons in question. The term “co-patriots abroad” (henceforth, co-patriots) includes the following persons: citizens of the Russian Federation, permanently residing outside of the Russian Federation (henceforth, citizens of the Russian Federation, permanently residing abroad), former USSR citizens residing in the states formerly comprising the USSR with the citizenship of these states and persons without citizenship (henceforth, former USSR citizens)...³⁷

This contradictory conventionalized legislative interpretation already contains a wide scope for ambiguities. Specifically, references to religion and common language in Section 1 separate Orthodox from non-Orthodox communities, and Russian-speaking communities from non-Russian

³⁶ See Ikhvanyuk (2009:53-54) for the description of this policy.

³⁷ (Federal Law of the Russian Federation 99-FZ
<http://document.kremlin.ru/doc.asp?ID=060205>)

speaking communities. However, Section 2 suggests that citizens of the former Soviet republics could also be considered 'compatriots'. According to this definition, a large part of the population of the Russian Federation cannot be considered 'compatriots' as they practise religions other than the Orthodox religion. The vagueness of the above definition that gives no common criterion according to which particular persons can be classified as a 'compatriots' caused vivid discussions on meaning negotiation in which common people, public figure and politicians actively participated. Some of them are reflected in the examples below:

- 4.29) При чем соотечественниками, по словам Ромодановского, будут признаны не только русские, но и все те, кто хорошо говорит по-русски, интересуется культурой и жизнью страны и «близок по духу россиянам». (МС, Gazeta, 29.10.2006)

'Whereby not only Russians can be considered as compatriots, according to Romodanovskiy, but also those who speak good Russian, who are interested in culture and life of the country and close in spirit to the Russian citizens.'

- 4.30) Если говорить о самом термине «соотечественники», то в первую очередь мы подразумеваем под ним русских, татар, башкир, чеченцев и людей других национальностей, которые исконно проживали на территории России. Ведь у таджиков и узбеков есть своя родина. Но термин расширен для тех граждан бывшего Советского Союза, которые близки к нашей культуре, традициям, языку. (МС, Profil', 23.10.2006)

'If we talk about the term "compatriots", then in the first instance we include the Russians, Tatars, Bashkirs, Chechens and people of other nationalities, who have lived on the territory of Russia for a long time. After all, the Tajiks and Uzbeks have their own home country. But the term has been extended for those citizens of the former Soviet Union who were close to our culture, traditions, language.'

Both Examples (4.29) and (4.30) describe as a соотечественник 'compatriot' a person of any nationality who technically can belong to the discourse participants from both categories SELF and OTHER. Example (4.29) contains an instance of represented discourse. The head of the Federal Migration Service seems to evoke 'ethnic' semantic attributes by referring to the nationality русские 'Russians' versus россияне 'Russian citizens'. These representations appear to be synonyms in Example (4.29).

He further refers to a non-specific abstract concept *близок по духу россиянам* 'close in spirit to the Russian citizens' which rebukes the legal meaning of the legal term *соотечественники* 'compatriots'. Example (4.30) excludes religion as a classification criterion to define *соотечественники* 'compatriots'. However, the representation *люди других национальностей* 'people of other ethnicities' makes the term more ethnicity-specific highlighting semantic attributes of ethnicity. The semantic chain in Example (4.30) shows one of the few instances in the corpus when the Russians appear next to Chechens and representatives of other ethnicities residing on the territory of the contemporary Russian Federation. The notion of hybridity is sustained in the first part of this statement by the phrase *исконно проживали* 'have been residing'. Presumably, the author of the text alludes at the historical period during which the territories belonging to the represented ethnicities have been incorporated into the Russian state and are still a part of it. Tajiks and Uzbeks are presented as OTHER discourse participants with respect to the current political situation as their territories are no longer a part of the Russian state. The characterization *граждане бывшего Советского Союза* 'citizens of the former Soviet Union' is ambiguous both referentially and with regard to the semantic attributes highlighted. It is possible that it refers back to the ethnonyms of the previous semantic chain and then it is also an ethnonym. As the representation emphasises closeness to the Russian culture, traditions and, especially language, similarly to Example (4.29), it may refer by allusion to Ukrainians and Belorussians. *Гражданин* 'citizen' is yet another ambiguous characterization applied to both SELF and OTHER discourse participants. It is possible that on Example (4.30) the characterization *Гражданин* 'citizen' is used as a sociopolitonym as the author does not seem to activate ethnic attributes or negative evaluation of the expression *граждане бывшего Советского Союза* 'citizens of the former Soviet Union'.

Гражданин ‘Citizen’

Examples below demonstrate some meanings of the representation *Гражданин* 'citizen' in the Moderate Corpus:

- 4.31) Здесь, конечно, экономический момент: хотим сэкономить на налогах, что не правильно. Но бороться надо не с «**гастарбайтерами**», а с нарушением закона. Для меня как законодателя главный критерий – законопослушный **гражданин** или нет. (МС, Moskvichka, 1.09.2006)

'Here, obviously, we have an economic aspect: we want to save on taxes, which is not right. But one has to fight not with "gastarbeiters", but with the law infringement. For me, as a law-maker, the major criterion is whether the person is law-abiding or not.'

- 4.32) **Чеченцы**, оказавшиеся в центре конфликта, – граждане России и **нелегалами** никак быть не могут. (МС, Rossiiskaia gazeta, 3.10.2006)

'The Chechens who turned out to be in the centre of the conflict are Russian citizens and cannot be illegal in any way.'

- 4.33) Владимир Путин заявил: "Наша экономика была и будет абсолютно открытой, прозрачной, она должна способствовать притоку в нашу страну капитала и квалифицированной, нужной нам рабочей силы, но миграционные потоки мы должны регулировать, чтобы это шло на пользу нашим гражданам". (МС, Gazeta, 5.10.2006)

'Vladimir Putin announced: 'Our economy was and will be absolutely open, transparent, it should attract a flow of capital and a qualified work force which we require into our country, but migration currents should be regulated so that it benefits our citizens.'

In Example (4.31), the OTHER discourse participants are presented through a non-specific ambiguous representation гастарбайтер 'guest worker' and a generic characterization гражданин 'citizen'. The representation гражданин on its own, i.e. not qualified through attributes denoting a country, appears in the context of bureaucratic jargon where it replaces the meaning of 'a person'. The anonymous гражданин 'citizen' is supposed to be a legal resident with a work permit and a tax-payer in case of OTHER or in case of SELF, a person who enjoys certain legal rights but also has certain legal duties, thus discussed through socio-political attributes³⁸. In Example (4.31)

³⁸ The analysis of 188 usages of the noun гражданин taken at random from the National Corpus of the Russian Language demonstrates that only in 13 cases

the representations «гастарбайтер» and гражданин are used with respect to legal issues. However, there is no criminalization implied in the statement, and therefore, a sociopolitical meaning is possible. Example (4.32) states clearly the citizenship of ethnic Chechens thus separating their two identities – the socio-political and the ethnic – and distinguishing them from the illegal immigrants as the object of the DPNI's attacks. Albeit, it is unclear whether the Chechens are represented as members of the Russian imagined community and whether they are ascribed SELF or OTHER category membership. In Example (4.33), the statement of the then president Vladimir Putin constructs the SELF category exclusively through first person plural pronouns Наша экономика 'our economy', нужной нам рабочей силы 'the workforce required by us', на пользу нашим гражданам 'to the benefit of our citizens'. The SELF representation наши граждане 'our citizens' seems to be used as a sociopolitonym. However, another statement by President Putin was reported by the business magazine Профиль eleven days later which throws a different light onto his previous declaration:

- 4.34) Дойдя до нацпроекта по развитию АПК, Владимир Путин вдруг заговорил о рынках. По его словам, «то, что порой происходит на торговых рынках, и вовсе можно назвать одним словом: беспредел», поскольку «главными на рынках являются **полукриминальные группировки**». Именно со слабым контролем государства за работой рынков президент связал «трагические события последнего времени», в том числе и беспорядки в Кондопоге. Для борьбы с безобразием Путин потребовал от властей всех уровней отрегулировать присутствие на рынках **гастарбайтеров**, в том числе «ужесточить визовый режим по отношению к **иностранным гражданам, нарушающим наше российское законодательство**». Также президент поручил руководителям субъектов РФ «принять дополнительные меры по совершенствованию торговли на оптовых и розничных рынках в целях защиты интересов российских товаропроизводителей и ... коренного населения России». (Profil', 16.10.2006)

гражданин is used to indicate citizenship, e.g. гражданин России, in 82 cases it is used as a form of address originating in the Soviet discourse, e.g. *гражданин начальник*, and in 93 cases it is used in the meaning of 'a person'.
http://search.ruscorpora.ru/search.xml?mycorp=&mysent=&mysize=&mysentsize=&dpp=&spp=&spd=&text=lexform&mode=main&sort=gr_tagging&lang=ru&nodia=1&req=%E3%F0%E0%E6%E4%E0%ED%E8%ED&p=0

'Having arrived at the project about the development of agricultural industry, Vladimir Putin suddenly started talking about markets. According to him, 'what is going on in the markets can be called a total mayhem' because 'the major actors in the markets are still half-criminal groups'. Precisely the weak state control over the markets led to the 'recent tragic events', including confrontations in Kondopoga, according to the president. In order to combat the outrageous situation, Putin demanded from the authorities of all levels to regulate the presence of "guest workers" in the markets, and also 'to toughen visa regulations concerning foreign citizens infringing our Russian law'. In addition, the president charged heads of Russian regions 'to take additional measures of improving trading in the wholesale and retail markets with the aim of protecting the interests of Russian producers and ... native Russian population.'

First of all, the background knowledge structures are evoked which associate the trades people in the markets, i.e. stereotypically those from the Caucasus and Middle Asia, with semi-criminal gangs. Secondly, the evaluative phrase трагические события последнего времени 'tragic events of recent times' alludes to the events in Kondopoga which appears in the above example, however, not as a direct quotation. The OTHER representation иностранные граждане, нарушающие наше российское законодательство 'foreign citizens breaking our laws' appears in the context where it can be perceived as a sociopolitonym. However, the ambiguous SELF representation коренного населения России 'local population of Russia' which finishes the presentation of the president's declaration shows incongruence with the apparent socio-political meaning of the previous expression наши граждане 'our citizens'. It is not accidental that this report uses suspension points to mark the last characterization as graphically prominent and to signal readers' counter-expectations (Martin and White 2005). By doing so, the warrantability of the reported position can be questioned by the author of the text. The author of the article claims further that the phrase коренное население России 'local population of Russia' is borrowed from the DPNI vocabulary where it is used undoubtedly as an ethnonym and the euphemism for ethnic Russians. The reader of the article is asked to accept that the contemporary policy of the Russian government towards migration is becoming more radical and ethnically oriented. Nevertheless, in order to prove this, we first need to know whether

the representation коренное население России 'local population of Russia' is used intentionally to evoke the ethnic associations suggested in this report. If it is an instance of single-voiced represented discourse then, according to Bakhtin (1984), the intentions of the author (the journalist) and the protagonist (the president) in conveying the ethnic attributes have to coincide. However, what is more important here, is the belief of the author that the aforementioned intentions coincide and these are the intentions which she wants to communicate to the readers who, in their turn, are lead into the belief that these intentions coincide. It is also striking that some of the president's words are presented in direct speech, whereas other words serve as implicit metalinguistic expressions. For instance, the low-register highly evaluative noun “беспредел” 'criminal practice' is paraphrased as a neutral-register noun безобразие which carries a different evaluative meaning, the neutral representation иностранные граждане 'foreign citizens' as a more attitudinally provoking and indicative of ethnic connotations гастарбайтер. The implicit expression трагические события последнего времени 'tragic events of recent times' is interpreted as a more explicit attitudinally provoking paraphrase беспорядки в Кондопоре 'riots in Kondopoga'. White (2006:49) discussing the evaluative effect of the reference to discourse driving events refers to such allusions as attitudinal provocations. In his view, such references have a strong evaluative effect on those readers who have knowledge of the mentioned event stored in their memory. By pretending to use exact quotations from an interview, implicitly authors can use such expressions as *metapropositional expressions* (Caldas-Coulthard 1994)³⁹. In any event, the ambiguity of the SELF representations used by the president has created a wide scope for discussions in the media with regard to the more radical orientation of the Russian government towards migration. The DPNI stated on their website that the Russian government started using anti-immigrant rhetoric offered to the public of the Russian Federation by the DPNI a long time ago. With respect to this phrase Alexander Belov, the leader of the DPNI, issued the

³⁹ Caldas-Coulthard (1994:305-306) observes that metapropositional expressions “label and categorize the reported speaker's contribution and as such are highly interpretative”.

following statement:

There is a question of, if not privatization of our ideology, of the authorities starting to use our vocabulary. (Moscow News, 16-22.02.2007).

The DPNI leader emphasises that the authorities have their own approach to migration which is different from the DPNI approach. However, the implication is that the use of the same vocabulary can indicate a convergence of mental frameworks, i.e. ideologies.

The use of the characterization Гражданин 'citizen of' + Gen, as well as уроженцы 'natives of'+ Gen. with the indication of the respective country of origin or citizenship is more straightforward in the Radical Corpus where such characterizations are used either to denote ethnicity or to demonstrate the deviousness of OTHER discourse participants in acquiring Russian citizenship. The ambiguities are more easily resolved as the intentions of the DPNI are more obvious. All examples below show the use of this OTHER representation in criminal news from the Radical Corpus:

(4.35)

Азербайджанская семья захватила квартиру русской женщины

Больше месяца назад она через агентство решила сдать свою пустующую частную квартиру в многоквартирном доме на проспекте Мечникова (Красногвардейский район города). Был заключён договор с **азербайджанской семьёй** сроком на один месяц. Семья – муж-коммерсант, владеющий кафе-шавермой в микрорайоне, кстати, гражданин РФ, его жена и трое несовершеннолетних детей, находящихся в России нелегально. (RC, Text 1, 17.11.06)

'Azerbaijani family has invaded the flat of a Russian woman
Over a month ago she decided to rent her empty private flat in a block of flats at Mechnikov Prospect (Krasnogvardeyskiy district). A tenancy agreement was signed with an Azerbaijani family for the period of one month. The family consists of a husband, a businessman owning a café in the same district, by the way, a Russian citizen, his wife and three underage children staying in Russia illegally.'

(4.36)

У «московского» героя таджикское лицо

На улицах Москвы все чаще встречаются **таджики**, работающие строителями и дворниками, продавцами и водителями. Но, как правило, таким нелегким трудом удастся заработать лишь небольшие средства. Поэтому, **многие из гастарбайтеров** рано или поздно становятся на путь наркоторговли... Недавно московские наркополицейские на Юго-Востоке столицы задержали **двух граждан Таджикистана**, пытавшихся сбыть крупные партии высококачественного героина. (RC, Text 6, 15.11.2006)

'Moscow heroin has a Tajik face

In the streets of Moscow, you can more and more often encounter Tajiks working as builders or street sweepers, sales assistants or drivers. But, as a rule, only little money can be earned through such a hard work. This is why many gastarbeiters sooner or later enter the drug trade [...] Recently, Moscow drug policemen arrested two citizens of Tajikistan, who were trying to sell large quantities of high-quality heroin, in the South-East of the capital.'

- 4.37) Как обычно, гражданин РФ сдал на месяц **азербайджанцам** квартиру. По истечении срока **нелегалы** не выехали, продолжили жить в квартире, перестали платить хозяину. На уговоры съехать **азербайджанцы** сильно избили хозяина. (RC, Text 7, 15.11.2006)

'As usual, a Russian citizen rented out a flat to Azerbaijanis for a month. After the end of the lease, the illegals did not move out; they continued to live in the flat and they stopped paying the landlord. Upon being persuaded to move out, the Azerbaijanis brutally beat up the landlord.'

- 4.38) Нам очень стыдно за бывших **сограждан**, переселившихся в Россию и пытающихся установить там собственные порядки, – неоднократно приходилось слышать автору этой статьи, в частности, в Азербайджане. – Удивляемся, как вы все это терпите. На месте вас, русских, мы бы быстро поставили таких на место. (RC, Text 10, 6.10.2006)

'We are very much ashamed for our former co-citizens who have settled over to Russia and try to make their own rules there', heard the author of this article many time, in particular, in Azerbaijan, 'We are surprised how you tolerate this. In the place of you, Russians, we would quickly show such [people] their place'.

Example (4.35) presents separately the ethnic and the socio-political identities of the OTHER discourse participant. The semantic attributes referring to his ethnicity are highlighted through the characterization of his family. The representation гражданин РФ is not introduced in order to

incorporate the discourse participant into the “imagined community”, as the DPNI seems to recognize only ethnic attributes as the criteria for the SELF and OTHER category membership, i.e. Russians and non-Russians. The DPNI attempts to undermine the notion of citizenship, suggesting that the Azerbaijani are deceptive enough to use another socio-political identity as a guise. In this example, the concessive adverb кстати 'by the way', is used as a modality marker for the attitudinal invocation of this judgement. Example (4.36) is the criminal news report which presents OTHER discourse participants as граждане Таджикистана 'citizens of Tajikistan', who are categorized in the beginning through ethnonyms as таджики 'Tajiks' and многие из гастарбайтеров 'many of the guest workers', as members of ethnic organized criminal gangs. Both representations граждане 'citizens' and гастарбайтеры 'guest workers' are constructed as ethnonyms through mentioning the participation of OTHER discourse participants in этнические преступные группировки 'ethnic criminal gangs'. The headline in Example 4.36 intensifies the intended ethnicization of the taxonyms. In the headline, the drug heroin is personified and is compared with a human being possessing таджикское лицо 'a Tajik face'. In Example (4.37), the SELF representation гражданин РФ 'citizen of Russian Federation' is used to contrast the SELF discourse participant with the OTHER discourse participants азербайджанцы 'Azerbaijani', who are delegitimized through the use of the representation нелегалы 'the illegals'. Here, the Positive SELF-Negative OTHER representation is exploited and the semantic attributes referring to ethnicity are present in both SELF and OTHER representations. The representation гражданин РФ 'citizen of the Russian Federation' is employed as an ethnonym in this item of criminal news.

Example (4.38) conveys SELF and OTHER representations through the voice of OTHER. However, the attributed statements are made from the point of view of the SELF. The OTHER representation сограждане 'co-citizens' reveals itself as an ethnonym in the presence of the SELF ethnonym русские 'Russians'. Later in this chapter, I will discuss such attributions and their function in more detail (See Section 4.3.2).

Мигрант 'migrant', гастарбайтер 'guest worker', иммигрант 'immigrant'

It has been observed that the OTHER characterizations мигрант 'migrant', гастарбайтер 'guest worker', (им)мигрант '(im)migrant' are quite often used interchangeably. The statistics in Table 4.3 show variation in the use of these representations:

	Moderate Corpus			Radical Corpus		
	SP	E	A	SP	E	A
<i>мигрант</i>	94	66	5	38	15	0
<i>гастарбайтер</i>	19	2	2	8	3	0
<i>иммигрант</i>	4	3	0	4	16	0

Table 4.3. Number of usages for мигрант 'migrant', гастарбайтер 'guest worker', иммигрант 'immigrant' in Moderate and Radical Corpus

The calculation of the number of usages of the above characterizations reveals that the term мигрант 'migrant' is employed the most frequently of the three expressions above. However, contrary to what Kozhevnikova (2007) reports about the 100% use of the term мигрант 'migrant' as an ethnonym, it is more frequently used as sociopolitonym (94 usages in MC and 38 usages in RC) than as ethnonym (66 usages in MC and 38 usages in RC). The neologism гастарбайтер 'guest worker', which does not have any formal definitions in any of the dictionaries available and the meaning of which is negotiated entirely by its users, is again most frequently used as sociopolitonym (19 usages in MC and 8 usages in RC) than ethnonym (2 usages in MC and 3 usages in RC). The expression (им)мигрант '(im)migrant', however, shows the highest number of usages as ethnonym in the Radical Corpus (16 usages in RC and 3 usages in MC). Not surprisingly, the radical group DPNI targets иммигранты 'immigrants', although, as noticed above, the three characterizations may be used interchangeably both

in the Moderate and Radical corpora:

- 4.39) Но кто получает новые квартиры? Может быть, русские беженцы из Чечни, Средней Азии и Закавказья? Или многодетные русские семьи? Или москвичи, десятилетиями ждущие расселения своих коммуналок? Нет! **Богатые мигранты из той же Чечни** (московская диаспора **чеченцев** перевалила за 300 тысяч), **Средней Азии и Закавказья** скупают московские квартиры, выстроенные **белыми иммигрантами из Украины или Молдавии**. (RC, Text 2, 03.10.2006)

'But who moves into the new flats? Perhaps, Russian refugees from Chechnya, the Middle Asia and the South Caucasus? Or large Russian families? Or the Muscovites who have been waiting for decades when their communal flats will be rehoused? No! Rich migrant from Chechnya (the Moscow Chechen diaspora has exceeded 300,000, the Middle Asia and the South Caucasus are buying up the Moscow flats which have been built by the white migrants from Ukraine and Moldova.'

- 4.40) Лимит на **гастарбайтеров**
Правительство утвердило квоты на **трудовых мигрантов** на 2007 год. Вчера премьер Михаил Фрадков подписал постановление о выдаче квот **трудовым мигрантам** в 2007 году. На законном основании в РФ смогут работать 308 тыс. 842 **иностранца**. (MC, Novye izvestia, 15.11.2006)

'Limit for guest workers
The government has sanctioned working migrants' quotas for 2007. Yesterday, Prime Minister Mikhail Fradkov signed the ordinance about distributing quotas to working migrants in 2007. 308,842 foreigners will be able to work legally in the Russian Federation.'

Example (4.39) from the Radical Corpus shows how the representations иммигранты 'immigrants' and мигранты 'migrants' appear in one semantic chain of ethnonyms иммигранты 'immigrants', Богатые мигранты из той же Чечни, Средней Азии и Закавказья 'rich migrants from the same Chechnya, Middle Asia and the Caucasian region', чеченцы, белые иммигранты из Украины или Молдавии 'white immigrants from Ukraine or Moldova' substituting for each other. The negative semantics of wealth can be perceived in the representation Богатые мигранты 'rich migrants'. The colour identification белые 'white' can trigger an associative colour antonym чёрный 'black' which is used ethnically to describe OTHER discourse participants referring to the darker colour of their skin and black

hair, and it is a colloquialism generically describing any migrant from the South of or outside of the Russian Federation. These are unambiguously racist terms. The dichotomic representation is sustained through contrasting OTHER discourse participants with SELF discourse participants whose ethnicity is either mentioned explicitly in the representations *русские беженцы* 'Russian refugees', *русские семьи* 'Russian families' or implied as in *москвичи* 'the Muscovites'. The presence of OTHER discourse participants and their activities are represented as detrimental to SELF discourse participants. Example (4.40) from the Moderate Corpus paraphrases the headline *Лимит на гастарбайтеров* 'Limit for guest workers' as *квоты на трудовых мигрантов* 'quotas for working migrants'. Here, both OTHER representations are used as sociopolitonyms in a text discussing legislative matters with no implication of criminal activities or judgement of OTHER actions as illegal or harmful in any way. The OTHER representations in Example (4.40) are genericized, whereas the SELF discourse participant *премьер Михаил Фрадков* 'Prime-Minister Mikhail Fradkov' is represented through nomination and functionalization.

From the above discussion we could see how meanings can be *recontextualized* (Bernstein 1990) and transformed using such linguistic resources as context and semantic chains. The preliminary results show that similar strategies of categorization and characterization are used in both the Moderate and Radical Corpus. Ethnonyms are a preferred way of describing OTHER discourse participants in both corpora. SELF and OTHER representations are consistently dichotomized in both corpora. In the Radical Corpus, strategies of negativization are used more frequently than in the Moderate Corpus. Both Moderate and in the Radical Corpus use evaluative language which is most frequently guised as somebody else's attributions. However, it is not sufficient to make definite conclusions with respect to discriminatory effects of the ideology of ethnicism unless the negative content of OTHER representations has been clearly identified. This is the purpose of the next section which is devoted to the identification and explanation of evaluative strategies in the corpora analyzed.

Section II

4.3. Evaluative Strategies

Despite the mass media's attempt to present themselves as 'objective', it has been widely attested that the representations and assertions offered by the media are value-laden and ideologically determined with a clear potential to influence their readership opinions and beliefs (cf. Fairclough 1995, 1998, Van Dijk 1998b, White 2006). A key aspect of such representations and assertions in migration discourse is evaluation. In Section I, we saw that SELF and OTHER representations in contemporary Russian migration discourse are imbued with evaluative meanings.

Section II explores evaluative strategies by trying to answer the following questions: what aspects of SELF and OTHER are evaluated? How are they evaluated linguistically? Through whose words are SELF and OTHER evaluated, i.e. monologically or through other voices? To what extent do authors of publications endorse or distance themselves from the attributed ideological positions? After a short introduction to the theory of appraisal and methodology, I will present results of the study of evaluative strategies of SELF and OTHER representations in the Moderate and Radical Corpus.

4.3.1. Developing a framework for evaluation

4.3.1.1. The Appraisal Theory

By outlining the positive SELF - negative OTHER polarization typical of racist discourse on migration, Van Dijk (1991, 1998a) emphasised the importance of the evaluative aspect in the analysis of SELF and OTHER representations. Consistent negativization of some discourse participants by more powerful discourse participants can be indicative of any discriminatory ideology, as observed in many discourse analytical studies. Earlier in this chapter, I pointed out positive and negative evaluative

strategies in some examples. In this section, I would like to pay more attention to interpersonal evaluation in order to see what aspects of SELF and OTHER are evaluated, whether there is any consistency in the use of specific strategies, and, last but not least, how various discourse participants of migration discourse are involved in evaluation.

Van Leeuwen (1996:45) addresses the importance of interpersonal evaluation in discourse by introducing a category of *appraisement* into his framework of social actors' representation. He uses the term appraisement to show that social actors are referred to in terms which evaluate them as good or bad, loved or hated etc. He points out that evaluation or appraisement is realized through a set of nouns and idioms and demonstrates this through a couple of examples in his corpus but does not develop a notion of appraisement further. For instance, it remains unclear what theoretical frameworks are used to identify some lexemes as positive or negative and what the implications of such characterization are in discourse. Neither does he mention the importance of implicit evaluation when no evaluative lexis is used and in the situations in which the evaluation is arrived at through background assumptions and inferences. At this point, I would like to address the issue of evaluative strategies by explaining the theory of appraisal developed by Martin (2000), Martin and White (2005) and White (2006). This theory takes a more painstaking approach to evaluative meanings.

The appraisal theory, which is partially developed on the basis of the works of Halliday (Halliday 1979 in: 2002, 2004) and Bakhtin (1984), states that it is possible to investigate how writers use lexical expressions to encode their attitude, i.e. evaluative stance, strategically in texts. The dimension of attitude includes those meanings by which texts/speakers attach an intersubjective value or assessment to participants and processes by reference either to emotional responses or to systems of culturally-determined value systems. Furthermore, Martin and White (2005) outline a framework of authorial engagement for the identification of discursive mechanisms and tools by which attitudinal positions can be conveyed. That is, readers can be ideologically positioned by authors of these texts to favour or disfavour a particular viewpoint or ideology. In a nutshell, the

appraisal theory deals both with the *attitudinal positioning*, i.e. “meanings by which writers/speakers indicate either a positive or negative assessment of people, places, things, happenings and states of affairs”⁴⁰ and dialogical positioning, i.e. ways “by which writers/speakers adopt evaluative positions towards what they represent as the views and statements of other speakers and writers, towards the propositions they represent” (ibid.). The appraisal theory is ultimately concerned with identifying linguistic mechanisms for the interpersonal “sharing of emotions and normative assessments” (Martin and White 2005:1).

According to the appraisal theory, Attitude divides into three sub-systems: 1) Affect (positive or negative characterisation of phenomena or human behaviour by reference to emotion), 2) Judgement (positive or negative evaluation of human behaviour with respect to social norms) and 3) Appreciation (positive or negative evaluation of objects and products rather than human behaviour by reference to aesthetic principles and other systems of social value). Since my study deals with the evaluation of attitude of humans, Affect and Judgement appear to be the most relevant categories for my analytical framework.

Affect in the appraisal theory is described through various emotions, such as (un)happiness, (in)security, (dis)satisfaction which can be externally motivated, or (lack of) desire which is internally motivated. The emotions are only sketched in the appraisal theory.

Judgement is made with respect to two aspects: social esteem and social sanction. The social esteem is evaluated with respect to, first of all, normality (“how special?”), capacity (“how capable?”) and tenacity (“how dependable?”). Sharing values in this area is critical to the formation of social networks (Martin and White 2005:52). The social sanction is assessed with respect to veracity (“how honest?”) and propriety (“how far beyond reproach?”). Sharing values in this area underpins civic duty (ibid.). The sub-categories of Attitude are schematically represented in Figure 4.1:

⁴⁰ <http://www.grammatics.com/appraisal/AppraisalGuide/Framed/Frame.htm>

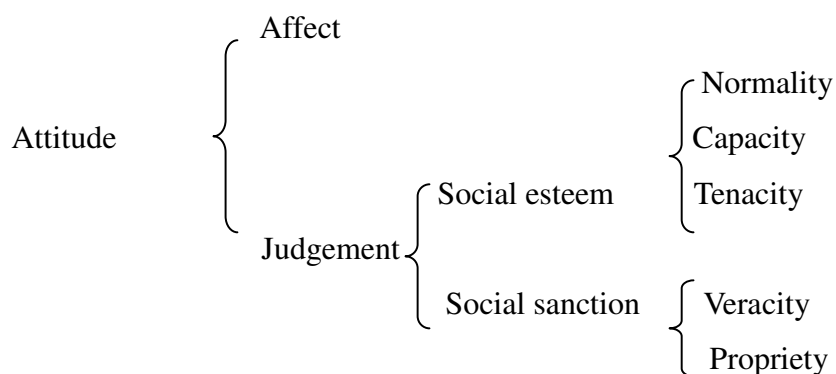


Figure 4.1. Aspects of Attitude in Appraisal Theory

According to Martin and White (2005:45), these sub-systems of attitude share common features about feelings in that feelings can be expressed as emotions or they can be institutionalized as propositions about behaviour (Judgement, i.e. how we or somebody should behave or not).

Within the framework of the appraisal theory, attitude can be expressed directly through an evaluative lexis, which is known as *inscribed attitude* (Martin 1997) or implicitly, which is known as *invoked attitude* (Martin 2000) or *attitudinal tokens* (Martin and White 2005). Explicit instantiations directly encode attitude, and specifically a positive or a negative value, through a variety of lexicogrammatical resources with more or less fixed positive or negative values across contexts. Attitudinal tokens, on the other hand, trigger attitudinal positioning through association and implications and other indirect means of expression, such as vagueness, metaphors, comparisons etc. The mechanisms of inscribed meaning can be evoking, i.e. containing no evaluative lexis, or provoking, i.e. containing an evaluative lexis but no explicit negative or positive evaluation. The latter aspect is especially important for my analysis because, as demonstrated in Section 1, explicit evaluative lexis is relatively infrequent especially in the Moderate Corpus; however, inscribed meanings are those which have to be accounted for most frequently.

Finally, the appraisal theory addresses the issue of authorial Engagement with the information attributed to another, external source. Engagement has to do with voices in the Bakhtinian sense and regards statements as *monogloss* or *heteregloss* (after Bakhtin 1981:427, quoted in

White 2003: 263). Depending on how many voices or value positions are identifiable with which the author either aligns or which he/she disclaims statements are classified as monogloss (one-voiced) or heterogloss (multi-voiced).

Engagement is concerned with linguistic resources by which authors adopt a stance towards value positions being referenced by the text and with respect to those they address (ibid.:92). Eventually, the appraisal theory is interested in whether authors present themselves as standing with, as standing against, as undecided or as neutral with respect to other speakers and their value positions referenced in the text. Thus the appraisal theory is interested in whether the value position is presented as one which can be taken for granted by a particular audience, or as one that is likely to be questioned or rejected by this audience (ibid.:93).

The taxonomy within which various engagement meanings are located includes:

- Disclaim (rejecting the contrary position through negation, counter-expectation, concession)
- Proclaim (representing the proposition as highly warrantable, generally agreed and reliable through concurring, some types of rhetorical questions, pronouncing – as a fact - and endorsing)
- Entertain (the represented position is one of a range of possible positions)
- Attribute (representing proposition as grounded in the subjectivity of an external voice).

(after Martin and White
2005:97-98)

Hence, the system of Engagement subsumes areas of meaning which have traditionally been analyzed separately under the terms of modality, evidentiality, hedging, attribution, concession and negation. However, within the theory of appraisal framework it is possible to incorporate these areas into one system, which can be used to assess ideological positions (White 2006).

An obvious drawback of this comprehensive theory of appraisal is the difficulty of analysing all of the areas involved. The studies available use this framework to analyze only certain aspects of rather small text corpora. The comprehensive examination of a certain discourse type on the basis of a large corpus, will require a separate thesis.

4.3.1.2. Assessing engagement and evaluation: methodology

The study of evaluative strategies presented below adopts the above analytical framework in the following way.

Firstly, I analyze attributions through the voices of SELF and OTHER. Under the heading *attribution* Martin and White deal with “those formulations which disassociate the proposition from the text’s internal authorial voice and attribute it some external voice” (Martin and White 2005: 111). Although Martin and White spend a great deal of time demonstrating the difference between the strategies of acknowledging and distancing with respect to the attributed source, but not ideological positions, the discussion in this thesis focuses on a different aspect of attribution. As opposed to their position, I am interested in whether it is SELF or OTHER discourse participants, who are used as attributors, and what the function of each attributor’s contribution is in the overall statement by a specific author in a specific article. Attributed statements will be analyzed from the point of view of how these statements represent certain value systems, i.e. whether they negativize migrants, for instance, and what the author’s reaction to these value statements is, i.e. whether authors align with this position or disclaim it.

My second aim is to understand the authorial engagement with such attributions, i.e. how meanings are disclaimed, proclaimed, entertained or attributed within the framework of appraisal theory. The role of irony has to be considered separately. The identification of discourse units containing such attributions is performed through a manual search of the Moderate and Radical corpus.

Thirdly, evaluative strategies are explored through the analysis of

aspects of attitude towards SELF and OTHER. That is, I am interested to know through which feelings SELF and OTHER discourse participants are presented and how their behaviour is judged with respect to each other.

Ultimately, I am interested in the statistics of negative, neutral and positive representations of OTHER discourse participants. The aim is to find out the ultimate ideology of pro-governmental mass media towards migrants. My hypothesis states that if the number of negative representations dramatically exceeds the number of positive and neutral representations, then the ideology of ethnicism expressed towards migrants is unquestionably discriminatory.

The statistics provided later in this section are based on calculations of OTHER representations appearing in the texts analyzed. Representations are calculated as usages, i.e. if in a description of a criminal activity we find several representations of criminal participants, they are all considered as separate usages and they are all counted as negative representations. Further on, statements are separated into proclaimed (no special tagging), attributed and acknowledged (tagged as *att.ack.*), attributed and disclaimed (tagged as *att.dis.*) and ironic (tagged as *irony*). In calculating the total number of usages, the attributed and acknowledged statements are given the same value as proclaimed statements, i.e. they are calculated concomitantly. Attributed and disclaimed and ironic statements obtain the reverse value, i.e. from negative representations they are transferred to neutral representations and calculated together with neutral representations, and vice versa. I entitle such strategy as neutralization.

The final aim of this section is to find a way to represent statistically the evaluation in the corpora analyzed. I claim that it is possible to find the index of evaluative force for each evaluative strategy, i.e. negativization, neutralization or positivization, in each of the corpora analyzed and compare the evaluative force of the corpora on the basis of these numerical values.

4.3.2. Attributions and Authorial Engagement with Attributions

The abundance of SELF and OTHER characterizations based on attribution

to external sources is a feature that can characterize journalistic discourse in general (cf. White 2006:41)⁴¹. By quoting authoritative figures, on the one hand, and people from the street, on the other hand, journalists acquire legitimacy for their own words (cf. Van Leeuwen and Wodak 1999, Van Leeuwen 2008).

Attribution is realized linguistically in a number of ways both in the Moderate and Radical corpus through the voices of SELF and OTHER discourse participants. Engagement with the external voices can be negative, i.e. distancing from the referenced opinion, or positive, i.e. acknowledging the opinion which is presented through attribution.

Very often, authors of the texts attempt to delegate responsibility for the evaluative meanings, especially more explicit ones, by attributing them to external sources. In the examples below, I would like to explore what functions are realized by voices of SELF and OTHER discourse participants in the corpora analyzed. However, we need to distinguish between the statements in which the author demonstrates alignment or solidarity with the presented or attributed value positions and statements, which demonstrate the author's or journalist's distancing from the represented or attributed opinion.

While assessing specific strategies of evaluation, I assume that the ideological position of the author or journalist is reflected through monogloss statements, i.e. bare assertions, proclaimed statements, as well as acknowledged attributions. On the other hand, disclaiming value positions expressed in attributed statements demonstrates that the author criticizes the position attributed which may be ideologically different.

On the basis of the examples analyzed, I have found that disclaiming the attributed value positions can be performed in several ways:

a) Graphically through the use of

- suspension points to express counter-expectation or surprise ;
- quotation marks to express irony or sarcasm;

⁴¹ I will use the terminology suggested by White to discuss authorial engagement in discourse. Attribution in the sense White uses this term is a direct reference consisting of direct or indirect speech and the indication of source, which is identified or impersonalized.

b) Lexically through the use of

- evaluation of the attributed statements/ attributors through denials (negation)
- countering using the modalizing markers of vagueness, i.e. *epode* 'sort of'
- stylistically different figures of speech etc.

Examples below consider separately represented voices of SELF and OTHER discourse participants.

a) **Voice of SELF**

As Galasinski (2003) observes, the reporting of someone's words is not merely a "neutral" account of what has been said: "The act of retelling something involves the speaker's control both of what is being retold as well as how the retelling is structured and organized, depending on the speaker's view of the world" (Galasinski 2003:132). Consequently, if the author of the text can exercise control over what is being retold, it is in the author's position and power to distort the content of the message. Ultimately, the meaning constructed by the author of the text and the strategies applied by the author of the text, i.e. the journalist who uses the represented speech, can introduce a competing ideology into the common discourse. Therefore, it is always useful to compare the original statement of an authoritative figure and the represented version of this statement to avoid wrong conclusions, especially if, according to represented speech, SELF and OTHER are categorized in terms of ethnicity. The difficulty is that any debates, statements and assertions are fed into public discourse through the media who retain the ultimate control over what has been said. However, the most controversial represented statements, before their analysis, will be checked for the original uncontested direct speech representations where they are available.

(4.40) Выступая на заседании московского правительства, директор образовательного центра № 109, заслуженный учитель Евгений Ямбург привел характерный пример из своей жизни - во дворе на спортивной площадке играют в футбол **представители, как**

говорится, одной южной национальности. Тут же гуляет бабушка с внуком, которая со страхом говорит о **футболистах** - **они** скоро нас всех завоюют. Далее учитель приводит слова своего приятеля - трудно не стать националистом, когда ты сажаешь цветы на клумбе перед домом, а их тут же растаптывают опять-таки «**южане**». (МС, Tverskaia, 13, 9.11.2006)

'While giving a talk at the meeting of Moscow City Council, the director of the educational centre number 109, honorary teacher Evgueniy Iamburg gave a typical example from his life. In the yard of the sports grounds, representatives of, so to say, one southern nationality are playing football. In the same place, a granny has come out for a walk with her grandson. She says about the footballers fearfully: They are going to conquer all of us soon. Then, the teacher quotes his friend: it is difficult not to become a nationalist if you plant flowers in front of your house and they keep being trampled on by "Southerners".'

- (4.41) Глава ГУВД Москвы Владимир Пронин сообщил, что с начала года в Москве **выходцы из стран ближнего зарубежья** совершили более 25 тыс. преступлений, причем число преступлений с применением огнестрельного оружия выросло на треть (МС, Kommersant, 8.11.2006)

'The Head of Moscow police headquarters Vladimir Pronin announced that, from the beginning of this year, natives of the countries of near abroad have committed more than 25,000 crimes in Moscow, whereby the number of arms-related crimes has increased by a third.'

- 4.43) В конце минувшей недели Институт развития системы образования провел исследование толерантности среди российских школьников по отношению к **инородцам**. Результаты повергли ученых в шок. 73% опрошенных детей испытывают неприязнь к приехавшим в их города **чужакам**. (RC, Text 9, 8.11.2006)

'At the end of the last week, the Institute of the Development of the System of Education conducted a survey of tolerance among the Russian school children investigating their attitude to foreigners. The results have shocked the scientists. 73% of the children who were surveyed feel antipathy towards the aliens who have come into their towns.'

- 4.44) Министр подчеркнул, что экстремистские преступления становятся следствием неконтролируемой внутренней и внешней миграции, коррупции, алкоголизации. По его словам, рост преступлений, совершенных **иностранцами**, значительно выше числа преступлений, совершаемых российскими

гражданами против **иностранцев**. Говоря о **нелегальных мигрантах**, он подчеркнул, что за последние 10 лет количество совершенных ими преступлений (в отношении коренного населения, грабежей) увеличилось в 150 раз. (RC, Text 4, 15.11.2006)

‘The minister emphasised that extremist crimes are caused by uncontrolled internal and external migration, corruption and alcoholization. According to his words, the increase in crimes committed by foreigners, is considerably higher than the number of crimes committed by Russian citizens against foreigners. Talking about illegal migrants, he emphasised that in the last 10 years the number of robbery crimes committed by them towards the local population has increased tenfold.’

All the above examples demonstrate patterns of attributions where the negativization of OTHER discourse participants is performed through attributions by external referents. Example (4.41) contains instances of represented discourse and metarepresented discourse. The utterance is produced by a public figure, the director of an educational centre, which is a SELF representation of trustworthy and authoritative figures. The nationality of the SELF discourse participants is not mentioned in the analyzed discourse unit explicitly but it is implied. The context of the situation shows that the director, his friend and the elderly woman with her grandson are identified as the representatives of the SELF in-group. OTHER discourse participants are euphemisms with typical ethnic connotations *представители одной южной национальности* 'representatives of one southern ethnicity', «южане» 'southerners', which generalized OTHER discourse participants through the reference to the entire region of the South, i.e. the Caucasus and Central Asia. The metalinguistic modalizing phrase *как говорится* 'as they say' is an important concessive expression indicating the attribution impersonalized through the use of a 3rd-person reflexive verb. It has a distancing element. The represented attributions are introduced through the verbal phrases *приводит пример* 'gives an example', *приводит слова* 'gives words' to substantiate his words. The direct speech is inserted without quotation marks, which gives the author of the text a greater freedom of the reinterpretation of the original OTHER characterizations in the represented

statement of the teacher and two metarepresented messages, of his friend and an anonymous elderly woman. A granny and her grandson should appeal to the family values of the reader; they represent vulnerable members of society and are described as experiencing fear on behalf of OTHER discourse participants.

In Example (4.41) from the Moderate Corpus the attributor is the Head of Moscow police headquarters Vladimir Pronin whose *evidential standing* (White 2006) allows the author of the text to present the attributing material as credible and warrantable. The ethnicization and criminalization of OTHER discourse participants are characteristic of the attributed statements. The statements are presented as direct and as indirect speech. The latter gives a greater possibility of paraphrasing to the author. The endorsement of the positions represented by the author of the article is tacit and not disclaimed.

Example (4.42) from the Radical Corpus identifies the institutional discourse participant with an authoritative voice Институт развития системы образования 'Institute of the Development of the Educational System' which metonymically stands for non-specified ученые 'scientists'. Quantification is often used in the representation of the opinion of SELF discourse participants through questionnaires in the corpora analyzed. Equally, OTHER discourse participants are also quantified, however, in different contexts, i.e. in the assessment of legal versus illegal migrants, or in the assessment of the share of specific ethnicities in a certain aspect of social life or in general. The sources of these statistics are identified as specific social research institutions or anonymous and genericized experts. Such statistics are often contradictory which is even recognized by the authors of some articles (see Example 4.26). In Example (4.43) such statements are endorsed by the author who presents them as non-questionable assertions including OTHER negativization, demonstrated through OTHER characterizations, such as инородцы 'outsiders' and чужаки 'aliens' negativized through the attitudinal expression испытывать неприязнь 'to experience antipathy'.

Van Leeuwen (2008) acknowledges the importance of statistics, which he entitles aggregation, in the representation of social actors in racist

discourses. He explains that “in our society, the majority rules, not just in contexts in which formal democratic procedures are used to arrive at decisions, but also and especially in others, through mechanisms such as opinion polls, surveys, marketing research, etc.” Van Leeuwen (2008:37). He suggests that “aggregation is often used to regulate practice and to manufacture consensus opinion” (ibid.). We see in the above examples, all of which negativize OTHER discourse participants, that aggregation can be implied, i.e. by reference to the high number of crimes expressed through numbers (Example 4.42) or a higher number of crimes committed by OTHER discourse participants comparative of those committed by SELF discourse participants.

However, the strategy of aggregation can also be used to convey neutral representations of OTHER discourse participants, as in Example (4.45):

(4.45) ...по данным ФОМ, неприязнь к инородцам испытывают только 21% населения, а 75% никаких таких эмоций не имеет. Причем число испытывающих неприязнь в течение последних лет неуклонно падает (в 2002 году было 32%), а тех, кто не испытывает, — наоборот, растет (в 2002 году было 65%). [...] (МС, Veshch, 28.08.2006)

'...According to FOM, only 21% of the population experience antipathy towards the local population, and 75% do not have such emotions. At the same time, the number of those feeling antipathy has steadily been falling (32% in 2002), and those who have no antipathy are, on the contrary, becoming more numerous (65% in 2002).'

The same attitudinal expression испытывать неприязнь ‘to experience antipathy’ and the OTHER characterization инородцы ‘people of other origin’ is toned down through the adverb только ‘only’. The attributing source is introduced through the phrase по данным which is a type of social actors’ objectivation called *utterance autonomization* (Van Leeuwen 1996). SELF discourse participants are objectivized through reference to authoritative sources reflecting a stance opposing negative OTHER representations. Such a stance, however, is not based on the ideology of multiculturalism, as the author apparently denies this ideology in the

statement Межнациональный мир воспринимается не как мультикультурное смешение народов 'International peace is perceived not as a multicultural mix of peoples', offering as an alternative an ideology which is passed on the priority of imperialist ideals приоритета русской культуры и русского языка 'priority of the Russian culture and Russian language'.

Finally, attributions can be inserted through recorded or reconstructed dialogue in direct speech, as in an interview with the head of the Federal Migration Service Konstantin Romodanovskiy in Example (4.46):

(4.46) - Вы как-то говорили, что один **нелегальный таджик** должен стоить работодателю дороже, чем один легальный русский. Как вы собираетесь этого добиваться?

- А в этом и суть нововведений, которые вступают в силу с января 2007 года. Это закон о миграционном учете и поправки к закону о правовом положении **иностранных граждан** на территории РФ. Мы создаем прозрачный рынок труда, с помощью которого сможем вывести из тени **незаконно работающих**. А у **мигранта** отпадает необходимость просиживать в очередях и платить мзду за ускорение процесса. (МС, Profil, 23.10.2006)

'- Once, you said that one illegal Tajik should cost the employer more than one legal Russian. How are you going to get this done?

- This is the point of the new regulations that come into effect in January 2007. This is the law about migration registration and amendments to the legal status of foreign citizens on the territory of the Russian Federation. We are creating a transparent job market which will help to take out of the shadow those who work there illegally. And the migrant does not need to wait in queues and pay bribes to accelerate the process.'

There are two participants in this interview, i.e. the journalist representing the SELF in-group and the head of the executive institution dealing with the issues of migration and migrant, i.e. an expert with the highest evidential standing. The question posed by the journalist in the above adjacency pair of a political interview contains polarized SELF and OTHER representations in an attribution: the antonyms **нелегальный таджик** 'illegal Tajik' and легальный русский 'legal Russian'. The conventional meanings of the lexemes таджик 'Tajik' and русский 'Russian' contain

reference to the semantic attribute 'ethnicity' and thus can be perceived as ethnonyms which the journalist uses in a provocative manner. Romodanovski is willing to answer the question without challenging these representations but paraphrasing reportedly his own words in a more acceptable manner using the strategy of toning down. He thus tacitly endorses the words of the journalist by not contradicting. He tones it down but not enough. He co-constructs the image of the OTHER by continuing the semantic chain based on illegality. The journalist and the politician are thus jointly constructing an OTHER discourse participant as *object of discourse* (see Johansson 2005). The answer contains only generalized representations which represent a case of hedging typical of provocative political interviews.

b) Voice of OTHER

Positive attributions stemming from OTHER discourse participants are often referenced to an individualized, nominated discourse participant. The major functions of these attributions are to convey a neutral or positive representation of OTHER discourse participants. Consider the following examples:

- 4.47) – Мы же убегали в чем были, ни одежды для детей, ни зубных щеток, ничего,– говорит **Сацита Висаева**.
– Такси отказывались нас везти, я любые деньги предлагала,– вторит ей **беременная Таисия Газиханова**,– еле-еле добрались до родственников, сбежали от этого ужаса. (МС, Vlast', 11.09.2006)

'We were running away in what we had on at that moment, we had no children's clothes, no tooth brushes, nothing,' says Satsita Visaeva.

'The taxi was refusing to take us, I was offering any money', says the pregnant Taisia Gazikhanova. 'We could barely get over to our relatives, we ran away from this nightmare.

- 4.48) «На рынках **бакинцы** не торгуют, на рынках торгуют **сельчане**, они невежественны и ничем другим не могут заниматься, а потом, насмотревшись на них, вы говорите про нас, что мы “чурки”» — это слова **молодого человека модно, но не очень дорого одетого, действительно хорошо**

говорящего по-русски. «Азербайджанцев в Москве нет, есть горские евреи. В самолете Баку-Москва я почти не слышу тюркской речи. В основном иранская. На языке иранской группы говорят таты», — рассказывает азербайджанский ученый (МС, Veshch, 28.08.2006)

'In the markets, the Baku people do not trade, in the markets you can only find villagers, they are ignorant and they cannot do anything else. And then, having seen enough of these people, you say about us that we are all "churki", these are the words of a young man who is dressed fashionably but not expensive and he speaks Russian really well. 'There are no Azerbaijanis in Moscow, there are mountain Jews. On the aeroplane Baku-Moscow, I hear almost no Turkic speech. Mainly Iran. That is the Tats who speak a language of the Iran group', tells an Azerbaijani scientist.

In the Moderate Corpus, OTHER discourse participants, whose statements are represented, are identified by names in Example (4.47) and function or appearance in Example (4.48).

In Example (4.47), as the names indicate the non-Russian ethnicity, no additional information is given with regard to ethnicity. The OTHER discourse participants describe their distress at the consequences of the interethnic clashes in Kondopoga. The evaluation of their situation is inscribed in the highly evaluative expressions *убегали* 'escaped' and *ужас* 'horror' which are used with the intention of evocation of sympathy with SELF discourse participants as victims.

In Example (4.48), the appreciation of the linguistic competence of the attributor is realized through the emphatic evaluative adverbial phrase *действительно хорошо* 'really well'. The description of his appearance through the concessive phrase *модно, но не очень дорого одетого* 'dressed fashionably but not very expensively' is intended to emphasise the difference between this positively evaluated attributor and other OTHER discourse participants whom the attributor identifies as *сельчане* 'villagers'. The negative semantics of wealth, as in Example (4.39) is present in the description of the clothes. The description of a young person as *не очень дорого одетого* 'not very expensively dressed' is intended to evoke feeling of approval in the reader. The author of the text and the attributor are jointly constructing the 'negative OTHER' by presenting an hierarchy of OTHER discourse participants. The evaluative meaning in the referential noun

сельчане ‘villagers’ is explained further through predications evaluating by judgement of low social esteem невежественны и ничем другим не могут заниматься ‘ignorant and cannot do anything else’, and finally metarepresenting OTHER discourse participants derogatively as чурки (pejorative reference to the migrants from the Caucasus and Central Asia), referencing this characterization back to radical SELF discourse participants. The division of OTHER discourse participants into positive and negative ones is sustained in the attribution stemming from the scientist who draws a dividing line between the ethnicities азербайджанцы ‘Azerbaijani’ and горские евреи ‘mountain Jews’ or таты ‘Tats’ on account of their speech. Thus, OTHER discourse participants are divided into two categories: positive and negative, by OTHER discourse participants who emphasise a variety in the category of OTHER from the point of view of the SELF. In this way, the authors of the texts legitimize their opinion by recruiting the words of OTHER.

The above strategy, i.e. negative OTHER representation through attributions from OTHER to legitimize the opinion of the author, is symptomatic of the Radical Corpus. Consider the following examples:

- 4.49) Отметим, что негативное отношение россиян к мигрантам, игнорирующим принятые в России нормы поведения, полностью разделяют их **остающиеся на родине соплеменники**.[...] Поймите, в основном в РФ едут **малокультурные люди, бывшие жители сел, беженцы с оккупированных Арменией территорией, без опыта жизни в больших городах**». (RC, Text 10, 06.10.2006)

'Let us note that the negative attitude of Russian citizens towards migrants who ignore the norms of behaviour adopted in Russia is shared by their tribesmen who remain in their homeland. [...] 'We are surprised that you all stand this. If we were you, Russians, we would put them back in their place. Understand that in general, these are less-cultured people, former villagers, refugees from the territories occupied by Armenia who go to Russia. They do not have an experience of living in big cities.'

- 4.50) - Около сотни людей, обратившихся к вербовщикам, ожидало рабство, — констатирует **полковник милиции, начальник отдела общественной безопасности управления внутренних дел Ошской области Акмаль Саеtkулов**— Торговля людьми стала выгодным бизнесом в нашей

республике, в который, помимо **заезжих гастролеров**, втягиваются и **местные жители**. (RC, Text 11, 29.09.2006)

'About a hundred persons who contacted the head-hunters were expecting slavery', states Police Colonel, Head of Osh department of public security Akmal Saetkulov. 'Human trade has become a profitable business in our republic, in which, apart from foreign traders, also the locals are involved.'

In Example (4.49), the polarized representation negative OTHER-positive/neutral OTHER is conveyed through an impersonalized attribution. The OTHER discourse participants used as attributors are characterized negatively in a derogative description *остающиеся на родине соплеменники* 'their fellow tribesmen who are staying behind'. It appears that as long as the representatives of non-Russian ethnicities, i.e. as long as they do not intend to cross the Russian border, they are represented neutrally. A negative OTHER is represented by evaluative characterizations *малокультурные люди* 'less cultivated people', *бывшие жители сел* 'former villagers', *беженцы* 'refugees', *без опыта жизни в больших городах* 'without experience of living in big cities'.

Example (4.50) shows a similar tendency. The positive/ neutral OTHER is identified through his name and function with an evidential standing which gives credibility to his words *полковник милиции, начальник отдела общественной безопасности управления внутренних дел Ошской области* 'police colonel, head of department of public safety of inner affairs office in Osh region'. He describes the illegal activity conducted in the Kyrgyz region of Osh which results in hundreds of local people being enslaved. Criminal activities are ascribed to *вербовщики* 'recruiters', who are comprised of the non-locals *заезжих гастролеров* 'non-local guest travellers' and *местные жители* 'local population'. The evaluation is implicit, i.e. whoever is involved in the management of criminal activities is judged negatively. Thus, the acceptable OTHER discourse participant with evidential standing is evaluated neutrally whereas criminal recruiters and local population involved with the recruiters are implicitly criticized through the evocation of negative emotions associated with the concept of slavery *рабство*.

To sum up, evaluative strategies in both corpora are frequently

realized through attribution, i.e. reference to external SELF discourse participants, to gain legitimacy for the position of the articles. Both in the Moderate and Radical corpus, SELF and OTHER attributors are represented by:

- politicians with high evidential standing, identified by name and title;
- public figures with high evidential standing, identified by name and occupation;
- trustworthy community members, not named;
- institutions, identified by name, and representatives of these institutions, not nominated or heads/leaders of these institutions, identified by name and title.

Attributions are used to reference both positive/ neutral and negative OTHER representations. Neutral OTHER discourse participants are those with evidential standing and/or staying within the limits of their country. Those involved in the ascribed criminal activities are evaluated negatively, regardless of whether they stay on the territory of their country or have migrated to Russia. A prominent strategy in attributions is a representation of and negative OTHER discourse participant through a positive OTHER attributor which is used both in the Moderate and Radical corpus. Another strategy for the use of voice of OTHER discourse participants is victimization, i.e. to present them as victims of external circumstances or interethnic conflicts, such as that in Kondopoga. As we shall see from the next section, another type of victimization is observed on the part of SELF discourse participants who are presented as victims of negative behaviour of OTHER discourse participants.

4.3.3. Evaluating Attitude in Radical and Moderate Corpus

The above discussion demonstrates that the preferred way of evaluating OTHER is representing them through judgements of various aspects of their behaviour and personality. In addition, it shows that direct or implied negative judgements of OTHER discourse participants are performed along with the evaluation of SELF discourse referents in the same dichotomic

pair. A typical feature of evaluation in the corpora analyzed is that SELF is mostly assessed through the evaluation of affect whereas OTHER is evaluated via the judgement of social sanction.

Broadly, two major ideological positions can be identified with respect to OTHER representation in the texts analyzed: 1) OTHER negativization and 2) OTHER neutralization. Entertaining the two positions is also possible and this can be considered a separate ideological position. Finally, some positive evaluations of OTHER discourse participants in the Moderate Corpus are considered separately. In what follows, I will examine the outlined strategies in detail.

4.3.3.1. OTHER negativization – SELF victimization

I would like to start the analysis of evaluative strategies by outlining the importance of agency and affectedness in all examples which have been analyzed previously in this section. In these examples, and especially those stemming from the Radical Corpus, feelings of SELF discourse participants are construed as directed at or reacting to a specific emotional trigger caused by the actions and behaviour of OTHER discourse participants.⁴². The behaviour is evaluated predominantly through negative judgements of social sanction, i.e. OTHER discourse participants are represented as non-compliant with the moral and criminal code of the host society. The affected SELF discourse participants are victimized, i.e. represented as experiencing negative emotions on account of the behaviour of OTHER discourse referents. This strategy of SELF victimization is concomitant with OTHER negativization.

The emotions evoked of SELF discourse participants range from dissatisfaction through unhappiness to insecurity. First, I have undertaken an evaluative pilot analysis of OTHER judgements using a small sub-

⁴²

The conscious participant experiencing the emotion (Attribute) is an Emoter (Carrier), and the phenomenon responsible for this emotion is a Trigger (Martin and White 2005:46). A Trigger can be implicated. White (2006) demonstrates that agency and affectedness in news reporting are often indicative of negative attitude expressed by journalists towards the initiators of material actions whereas positioning discourse participants as affected subjects indicates a positive disposition towards those affected.

corpus, which contains all the examples quoted earlier in this chapter to identify the concomitant strategies of OTHER evaluation. The analysis has demonstrated that negative OTHER judgements can be classified in terms of problematization and criminalization. They have to do with judgement of social sanction which is expressed through the evocation of semantic attributes evaluating the propriety and veracity of OTHER both in the Moderate and Radical Corpus. The specific attributes are listed in Table 4.4:

Evaluating emotions of SELF	Strategies of OTHER negativization:	Examples
Dissatisfaction, unhappiness , Insecurity ↓ Antipathy Hatred	Problematization a) negative propriety: attribute “unscrupulous” b)negative veracity: attribute “devious” c) negative propriety: attribute “aggressive” d) negative propriety: attribute “illegal” Criminalization a) negative propriety : attribute “criminal”	MC: 4.6, 4.9 (att., dis.), 4.27 RC: 4.5, 4.15, 4.16 RC: 4.15, 4.39 MC: 4.10, 4.14 (att., dis.), 4.27, 4.41 (att. ack.) MC: 4.17, 4.18, 4.46 (att., ack.) RC: 4.35, 4.44 (att.,ack) MC: 4.20, 4.21, 4.22, 4.23, 4.27 (att., ack.), 4.34 (att., ack.), 4.42 (att., ack.) RC: 4.35, 4.36, 4.37, 4.38, 4.44 (att.ack.) Total: 29 usages

Table 4.4. Negativization of OTHER discourse participants in the analyzed examples

Table 4.4 shows the distribution of OTHER judgements construing the attributes of OTHER as ‘unscrupulous’, ‘devious’, ‘aggressive’, ‘illegal’ and ‘criminal’ in the Moderate and Radical Corpus. It demonstrates that both the Moderate and the Radical corpus use similar evaluative strategies negativizing OTHER discourse participants along the same lines. Out of 29 negative OTHER evaluations in the table, 8 monogloss and 4 heterogloss, i.e. attributed acknowledged, statements represent them as ‘criminal’. 5 monogloss statements represent them as ‘unscrupulous’, however, 1 heterogloss statement represents an alternative viewpoint. In showing their disagreement with the negative judgement expressed by the represented attributor, authors or journalists present explicitly or implicitly an alternative strategy of OTHER evaluation. Furthermore, 3 monogloss and 2 heterogloss (attributed and acknowledged) statements represent OTHER discourse participants as ‘illegal’ etc. It has to be noted that in texts it is very common to see combinations rather than isolated attributes.

I would now like to exemplify the above findings based on the small sub-corpus by analysing the full corpus of texts and demonstrating and comparing specific linguistic realizations of SELF and OTHER evaluations in Radical and the Moderate Corpora. These findings will be appended by the discussion of other semantic attributes found in a larger corpus.

Unscrupulous OTHER - negative emotions of SELF

The attribute “unscrupulous” is evoked when OTHER discourse participants are represented as opportunistic and not respecting the customs and moral laws of the receiving SELF community.

- 4.51) - **Группа азербайджанцев** приехала туда закупать картошку и морковь. И ведь берут у бабок экологически чистую морковку по два рубля пятьдесят копеек за кило - это полнейший грабеж! Бабки охают, но благодарят за то, что хоть кто-то купил. Я и

говору: «**Ребята**, зачем же так!? Ведь на рынке **вы** ее по пятнадцать рублей продаете!» **Их начальник** мне резонно отвечает: «Слушай, я пока еду из района, то и там «Дай!», и там «Давай!» - и **он** прав, потому что пока до Москвы доедет, то пять-семь раз деньги отдаст. Кто в этом виноват - **азербайджанец**? Нет, коррумпированная власть! И все равно к **этим азербайджанцам** там не очень хорошее отношение, хотя **их никто** и не бьет. Александр Гуров, профессор уголовного права, член комитета по безопасности Госдумы. (МС, Gazeta, 18.09.2006)

'A group of Azerbaijanis came there to buy up potatoes and carrots. They take ecologically clean carrots at a price of 2 roubles 50 kopeks per kilo from the local grannies – this is daylight robbery! The grannies are groaning, but they are grateful that at least somebody has bought the produce. I say: 'Guys, why are you doing this? You are going to sell it for £15 afterwards'. Their boss answers me reasonably: 'Listen, while I was driving through the district, everywhere I hear 'Give me' here and 'Give me' there, and he is right, because, when he reaches Moscow, he has to give money 5-7 times. Whose fault is this, the Azerbaijani's? No, the corrupted authorities. Nevertheless, these Azerbaijanies do not enjoy a good attitude there, although nobody beats them up'. Alexandr Gurov, Member of Duma Security Committee'

In Example (4.51) the OTHER discourse participants are identified in ethnic term as Группа азербайджанцев 'group of Azerbaijanis', they are presented generically as a group of non-nominated persons by a SELF discourse participant with evidential standing профессор уголовного права, член комитета по безопасности Госдумы 'Professor of Criminal Law, member of Security Council of State Duma'. Their actions are equated to a criminal activity грабеж 'robbery' in a moral sense, although not in a legal sense, intensified through a qualifying superlative adjective полнейший 'total'. It is ruthless, from the point of view of the attributor, for the group of Azerbajdzhani people to take financial advantage of the old age pensioners who do not have the means to transport the produce to the markets. The distressed emotional state of SELF discourse participants is described through a behavioural process Бабки охают 'The grannies are groaning'. The attributor admits through the concessive phrase он прав 'he is right' while commenting an OTHER's allusion of corrupt authorities, which results in an abnormal pricing policy. However, he refutes his own

sympathy by describing the conclusive emotional state of SELF discourse participants vis-à-vis this group of Azerbaijani through the mental process не очень хорошее отношение 'not very good attitude'. In this example, the agency is attributed to OTHER discourse participants Группа азербайджанцев 'group of Azerbaijani' who are represented as blameworthy of the distressed emotional state of SELF discourse participants. Strikingly, the attributor comments on the way of communication to OTHER discourse participants as reasonable Их начальник мне резонно отвечает 'their manager replies to me reasonably'. However, SELF discourse participants' reported attitude is represented as irrational and not requiring explanation through the concessive expression И все равно 'And despite this'. The conclusive evaluation of OTHER discourse participants emotion/ reaction is presented as legitimate on the part of SELF discourse participants even from the irrational point of view. However, the fact of the Azerbaijani being beaten is presented as a natural course of events by the professor.

The two following examples represent two similar viewpoints attributed to members of the host community with a high social evidential standing, i.e. teachers who evaluate their pupils:

- 4.52) - Одна из серьёзных проблем — под этнокультурные школы нередко передаются обычные общеобразовательные, в которых до этого учились российские детишки. Получается, что там учатся **50% ребят одной национальности**, а 50% — русских и других детей. В таких случаях **национальное большинство** заявляет: **школа наша, мы** здесь главные, а вы — как хотите: или живите по нашим законам, или уходите. (Argumenty I fakty, 11.10.2006)

'One of the serious problems is that often ethnocultural schools are made of the normal schools where earlier went the Russian children. It turns out that their pupils are 50% of one ethnicity and 50% Russians and other ethnicities. In such cases the national majority declares: the school is ours, we are bosses here, and you - as you want, either live according to our laws or leave.'

- 4.53) Например, видя, что с 1991 г. в Москве стало увеличиваться количество **приезжих**, город пошёл **этим людям** навстречу и стал открывать школы с этнокультурными компонентами. Но, будучи по сути своей гостеприимными, мы не заметили, как ситуация резко изменилась. **Детей приезжих**, как и **самых**

приезжих, становится всё больше. Школ с этнокомпонентом на всех не хватает, и **дети мигрантов** пошли в обычные школы. «**Дети мигрантов** за последние 10–15 лет сильно изменились, — говорит учительница начальной школы Любовь Дмитриева, — если в начале 90-х **их родители были представителями интеллигенции, приехавшей в наш город по работе или вынужденно поменявшей место жительства**, то среди пап и мам **нынешних первоклассников** всё больше **продавцов с рынков**. Уровень образования **родителей** не может не сказываться на поведении **детей** — **они** растут неуправляемыми и «дикими», огрызаются в ответ на замечания и не желают менять свою точку зрения. **Многие из них** даже пожилых учителей называют на «ты». (МС, Argumenty i fakty, 11.10.2006)

'For instance, having noticed that from 1991 the number of migrants in Moscow has started to increase, the city wanted to meet their needs and started opening schools with an ethnocultural component. However, being hospitable in essence, we have not noticed how rapidly the situation has changed. There are being more children of migrants and migrants themselves. There are not enough schools with ethnic components for everyone and the migrants' children started going into normal schools. 'The migrants' children have changed over the last 10-15 years,' says the primary teacher Liubov' Dmitrieva. 'If at the beginning of the 90s their parents were representatives of an intelligentsia who came into the city because of their jobs or they were forced to move, nowadays dads and mums of the school-starters are more and more often traders from the markets. The level of education of the parents is reflected through the children, they grow up uncontrollable and wild, answering back when they are being disciplined and they would not change their viewpoint. Many of them address even elderly teachers informally'.

The dichotomization of SELF and OTHER pupils is sustained through outlining the ethnic attributes of SELF in Example (4.52) русских и других детей 'Russian and other children'. The ethnicity of OTHER discourse participants is non-specific: ребята одной национальности 'children of one ethnicity', национальное большинство 'ethnic majority'. The behaviour of OTHER pupils is considered unscrupulous from the point of view of interpersonal relationships between SELF and OTHER pupils. The negative judgement is concerned specifically with the represented imperative statements of OTHER pupils или живите по нашим законам, или уходите 'either live according to our laws, or leave' which are assimilated into the teacher's statement by way of exemplification of the negative moral qualities of OTHER pupils. OTHER pupils are thus represented as arrogant,

discourteous and intolerant, which is exemplified by the teacher through the represented OTHER pupil's words школа наша, мы здесь главные 'the school is ours, we are the head here'. The effect of such behaviour is described as triggering negative emotions of antipathy (неприязнь) instead of the expected positive emotion of mutual respect (взаимного уважения). OTHER discourse participants as the trigger phenomenon of such negative emotions are only implicated through the use of the impersonal verbal construction воспитывается 'is being raised'.

In Example (4.53), OTHER discourse participants are not discussed directly in terms of ethnic attributes, rather, the description of the migrant parents of OTHER pupils are classified in terms of the occupation of market traders (продавцов с рынков) which has ethnic connotations as we saw earlier in this chapter (see Examples (4.17) and (4.18)). Market traders are strongly associated with specific ethnicities and mentioning this occupation in the context of contemporary migration discourse can evoke the semantic attribute of ethnicity with the reader. The teacher seems to evaluate these parents along educational criteria by alluding to their lack of education and civilized manners. She construes a cause-and-effect relation between the low educational level of parents and negative judgement of pupils' propriety expressed through the negative epithets неуправляемыми и «дикиими» 'uncontrolled and wild', negative evaluation of interpersonal skills огрызаются в ответ на замечания и не желают менять свою точку зрения 'answering back when they are being disciplined and they would not change their viewpoint' and outlining their discourteous forms of addressing adults даже пожилых учителей называют на «ТЫ» 'even middle-aged teachers are addressed through the informal 'you'. The author of the article contrasts the negative patterns of behaviour of OTHER discourse participants with the positive character traits of SELF discourse participants будучи по сути своей гостеприимными 'being hospitable in their essence'. The judgement is based on considering the abuse of hospitality of SELF discourse participants as immoral which by evocation triggers the emotion of distress on the part of SELF discourse participants. Interestingly, an acceptable neutral OTHER is constructed in this discourse unit through employing the temporal contrast. In the words of the teacher,

the beginning of the 1990s used to bring more educated migrants представителями интеллигенции 'representatives of intelligentsia' i.e. from her point of view, more valuable to society. Another contrast is a description of the purpose of migration in the past по работе или вынужденно поменявшей место жительства 'because of their jobs or they were forced to move' which implicates that nowadays, migrants move because of their own accord and their trade in the markets is not treated as a job.

Example (4.54) suggests that it is the sheer amount of migrants that evokes the negative emotional response on the part of the SELF discourse participants with a negative reaction at one end and extreme ideologies at the other end as something normal and expected:

- 4.54) Непрекращающийся поток мигрантов все чаще вызывает негативную реакцию **коренных москвичей**, которая выливается в проявления ксенофобии, национализма и неофашизма. Руководители города надеются сделать надежную прививку от болезни XXI века путем активной адаптации **приезжих**, повсеместной пропаганды толерантности и культуры мира.[...] Город уже давно служит мощным магнитом для **желающих заработать и устроить себе достойную жизнь**. Но как отмечают специалисты, если раньше в столицу ехали в основном за тем, чтобы получить хорошее образование, повысить свой социальный статус, то теперь основная цель - заработать. При этом **мигрант** редко хочет влиться в московское общество, а местных жителей воспринимает скорее как инструмент для достижения своих целей. (МС, Tverskaia, 13, 9.11.06)

'The unceasing current of migrants more and more causes a negative reaction of native Muscovites which shows itself in the demonstration of xenophobia, nationalism and neo-fascism. The heads of the city are hoping to make a reliable vaccination against the illness of the 21st century through actively adapting the migrants, conducting a city-wide propaganda of tolerance and peace culture. [...] The city has long served as a strong magnet for those wanting to earn money and to make a dignified life. But, as specialists note, if earlier people went to the capital to receive a good education and to improve their social status, nowadays their major goal is to earn money. That said, migrants rarely want to integrate into the Moscow community, and they perceive the local population as an instrument to achieve their goals.'

The reason for the negative attitude towards migrants is found in the

unwillingness of migrants to integrate: мигрант редко хочет влиться в московское общество 'a migrant rarely wants to integrate into the Moscow community', but they take advantage of the receiving party воспринимает скорее как инструмент для достижения своих целей 'perceive [them] as an instrument for the achievement of their own aims'. Thus, the negative reaction of Muscovites is normalized by focusing on the danger of mass migration. In this example, migrants are represented as an active force and the local population is presented as affected discourse participants. Similarly to SELF representation in Example (4.54), the host society is depicted as protecting and caring towards the migrants through the Sovietisms активной адаптации приезжих, повсеместной пропаганды толерантности и культуры мира 'active adaptation of migrants, propaganda of tolerance and peace culture' whereas migrants are represented as agents acting unscrupulously towards the local population.

Similarly, example (4.55) from the Radical Corpus represents migrants as causing a problem:

- 4.55) Проблема трудоустройства. Ибо **иммигрант** готов трудиться за гроши и, не желая "качать права", отнимая тем самым хлеб у местных жителей, сбивая цену их труда. Твой заработок уходит в карман **иммигрантов**! Ты мог бы жить достойно, но твои деньги убежали из России в СНГ. Сопредседатель НДПР, А.Н. СЕВАСТЬЯНОВ (RC, Text 2, 3.10.2006)

'The employment problem. Because the immigrant is ready to work for peanuts and, without wanting to insist on their rights, takes away the bread from the local population by knocking down the price of their work. Your earnings go into the immigrants' pocket! You could live with dignity, but your money has run away from Russia into the CIS. Co-leader of NDPR, A.N. Sevostianov'

In the above example, migrants' actions are assessed through the evaluative metaphorical expression отнимая хлеб 'taking the bread away', 'pulling down the price of their work'. The local population (местные жители) is represented through attitudinal evocation as experiencing distress on account of the detrimental actions of migrants. Further metaphorical expressions use personified images of money: заработок уходит в карман иммигрантов 'your salary goes into migrants' pockets', твои деньги убежали из России в СНГ 'your money has run away from Russia to CIS'.

SELF discourse participants are represented as affected and victimized and migrants are represented as negatively evaluated active agents causing the negative emotions of these actions.

Devious OTHER - negative emotions of SELF

The attribute “devious” is described through the situations which represent OTHER discourse participants as deceitful, dishonest, lying, bribing the authorities and taking advantage of SELF discourse participants. Interestingly, the act of bribing the authorities is not represented as a criminal act throughout the corpus. It is represented either as an inevitable action performed due to the corrupt nature of authorities, as in Example 4.53, or as the result of the devious character of the briber. Interestingly, the bribe is always described through euphemisms, as in the example below:

- 4.56) Милиция по-прежнему будет смотреть сквозь пальцы на мелкие проделки **отдельных граждан**, поскольку они будут исправно вносить плату за беспокойство. Широкие народные массы будут по-прежнему нищать и звереть. Соответственно, **отдельные граждане** рано или поздно станут вызывать раздражение, переходящее в ненависть, а дальше - вопрос повода и принципов формирования группировок. (МС, Gazeta, 5.09.2006)

'The police will as always be turning a blind eye to the mischievous doings of certain citizens, because they will be making regular payments for the disturbance. Wide people's masses will be getting poorer and angrier, as usual. As a result, some citizens will be sooner or later causing irritation going into hatred, and then – a question of motive and principles of forming various groups.'

In Example (4.56), the act of bribing is described through a euphemism вносить плату 'to offer payment'. The reason for bribing is the OTHER's action which is described through the euphemistic litotes мелкие проделки and беспокойство to indicate the non-serious character of OTHER's actions and thus to excuse the police authorities for not taking measures against the bribers. The negative emotions of the SELF discourse participants who are described generically through a Sovietism as Широкие народные массы 'wide people's masses' are represented through the evaluative verb звереть 'to become like animals' which describes the

process of the accumulation of the negative reaction through de-anthropomorphization. These negative emotions are presented as natural. The cline of changing reaction is evaluated as раздражение, переходящее в ненависть 'irritation going into hatred', i.e. the irritation is seen as the least extreme reaction of SELF and the hatred is seen as the most extreme negative emotion. The cause-and-effect relation between the actions of OTHER discourse participants and the negative emotions of SELF discourse participants is implicated, although it is not expressed overtly. The justification of hatred on the part of the SELF discourse participants can be seen in the use of the modalizing word Соответственно 'accordingly, as a result'.

Illegal and devious/ unscrupulous / criminal OTHER - negative emotions of SELF

The evaluation of OTHER discourse participants as illegal most frequently coincides with the evocation of other semantic features that describe them as detrimental in any way to the host population. A combination of features "illegal and immoral", "illegal and devious" or "illegal and criminal" or all of them in the representation of OTHER discourse participants is described as having a cause-and-effect relation with the negative reaction of SELF discourse participants. I have separated the two semantic features 'illegal' and 'criminal' to emphasise the following: the feature 'illegal' concerns the representation of migrants who either enter the country without an entry visa, those who live without registration with the authorities or those who work in the country without a valid work permit and pay no taxes. The feature 'criminal' concerns the representations of more serious criminal acts, such as robbery, murder, drug or human trafficking, in which migrants can be represented as agents of these criminal actions or affected.

In Example (4.57), there is a combination of semantic features through which OTHER discourse participants are categorized and evaluated:

4.57) Каждая четвертая студенческая койка в общежитии продана

нелегальным торговцам с рынка.[...] Кирилл, недавний выпускник Московского государственного педагогического университета, рассказал корреспонденту "РГ": "В нашем вузе некоторым студентам приходилось даже ночевать на спортплощадке, ожидая очереди на место в общежитии. При этом несколько этажей в студенческой общаге занимали торговцы с соседнего рынка, не имевшие к институту никакого отношения. Похоже, у них была договоренность с местным отделением милиции, по крайней мере, они часто бравировали перед ребятами тем, что у них все схвачено - и с комендантом, и с милицией" [...] По имеющимся неофициальным данным, из 80 тысяч мест, предназначенных для иногородних студентов, около 20 тысяч сдаются нигде не зарегистрированным работникам торговли. Студенты же тем временем вынуждены снимать дорогостоящее жилье.МС, Rossiiskaia gazeta, 28.08.2006)

'Every fourth student's bed in the halls of residence is sold to the illegal market traders. [...] Kirill, a recent Moscow State Pedagogic University graduate, told the "RG" correspondent: 'In our university, some students had to stay overnight even in the sports grounds while they were waiting for their place at the halls of residence. At the same time, several floors in the halls were occupied by traders from the market, having nothing to do with the university. It looked like they had an agreement in the local police department, at least, they were often boasting in front of the students that they have everything sorted – both with the halls manager and police department.' According to unofficial information, the capital still has a preference mainly for illegal income. According to unofficial data in her possession, out of 80000 places envisaged for non-local students, 20000 are leased to non-registered market traders. The student meanwhile have to rent costly accommodation [...] '

OTHER discourse participants are categorized by occupation торговцы с соседнего рынка 'trade persons from the nearby market', работникам торговли 'trade workers' appended by mentioning their illegal status through the qualifying expression нигде не зарегистрированным 'not registered anywhere'. OTHER discourse participants' actions of bribing are described in euphemisms as у них была договоренность с местным отделением милиции 'they had an agreement with the local police department', у них все схвачено 'they have everything in a grip' and тех, кто сумеет договориться с комендантом за определенную сумму денег 'those who can come to an agreement with the dorm manager for a certain amount of money'. The evaluation is performed implicitly, since all of the

described actions imply that the non-specified market traders bribe authorities. Students are presented as victims of devious OTHER discourse participants. The students' unhappiness is implicated through the description of their pitiful situation *начались новые испытания* 'new challenges have begun', *приходилось даже ночевать на спортплощадке* 'had to spend a night on the sports grounds', *вынуждены снимать дорогостоящее жилье* 'were forced to rent expensive accommodation', and the SELF negative reaction is expressed through the verb *возмущался*. The author implies that by bribing the authorities, illegal market traders take advantage of the inexperienced non-local students thus showing their immoral character. Thus, the semantic features 'devious', 'illegal' and 'unscrupulous' can be noticed in the representation of OTHER discourse participants in the above extract. The agency of the traders is emphasised whereas the police and the administrations are seen as passive discourse participants.

Similarly to Example (4.56), in Example (4.58) the relationship between SELF and OTHER discourse participants is evaluated through the evaluative aggressive verb *отнимать* 'to take away, deprive':

- 4.58) - Если идет массовый нелегальный прием на работу приезжих с рабочими специальностями - это проблема для страны. Они отнимают работу у тех москвичей, которые умеют штукатурить, белить и т.п. Борис Надеждин, секретарь президиума СПС (МС, Gazeta, 18.09.2006)

'If there is a mass illegal employment process of migrants with working qualifications, then it is a problem for the whole country. They take away jobs from the Muscovites who can decorate, plaster etc. Boris Nadezhdin, Secretary of General Committee, SPS'

In Example (4.58), SELF discourse participants are impersonalized, whereas migrants are represented as an active and aggressive force. The modifying attribute 'illegal' is not used with reference to the migrants, but to the action of employing the migrants *массовый нелегальный прием на работу приезжих* 'mass illegal employment of migrants', in which employers are passive agents, i.e. the performers of this action are supposed to be blameworthy for the illegal employment. However, the two attributes 'illegal' and 'unscrupulous' can be attributed to migrants, as they become illegal due to the illegal employment process.

The inscribed evaluation of OTHER discourse participants as 'criminal' is typical of the Radical Corpus, as previous examples demonstrate. All 21 texts base the representation of migrants on the account of criminal news, the author's opinion or criminalizing them through represented quotations. I would like to discuss only one text which is representative of the whole the Radical Corpus part of which appears in Example (4.35).

The text (RC, 15.11.2006, Text 1) with the headline *Азербайджанская семья захватила квартиру русской женщины* 'An Azerbaijani family has captured the flat of a Russian woman' construes the polarized pair of ethnonyms *Азербайджанская* 'Azerbaijani' - *русская* 'Russian' immediately from the headline. OTHER discourse participants are categorized in terms of relational classification in the headline, i.e. *семья* 'family'. The first paragraph introduces the citizenship of the protagonist *гражданин РФ* 'citizen of the Russian Federation' through the concessive adverb *кстати* 'by the way'. This may indicate the representation of the protagonist as 'devious' by sidelining the protagonist from the mainstream Russian community by implying that the citizenship may have been obtained by illegal or immoral methods. Family members of the protagonist are described negatively as 'illegal'. Through the use of the evaluative verb *захватила* 'captured' in the headline, the OTHER discourse participants are construed as aggressive agents of material actions that can be dangerous for the patient of this action *русская женщина* 'Russian woman'. The actions of OTHER discourse participants are listed but there is no inscribed characterization of these actions at the beginning of the article. By attitudinal evocation, the actions *отказалась съезжать* 'refused to move out', *отказались в срок оплатить найм* 'refused to pay rent on time' are evaluated negatively in the context of legal obligations of the renting process. However, the action *некогда хорошее качественное жильё удалось превратить в место называемое притоном* 'once a good quality accommodation has been transformed into a place called a den' is assessed through the inscribed negative evaluation of the noun *притон* 'den'. The modification of this evaluative noun through the phrase *у русских называемое притоном* 'called the den by the Russians' attitudinally evokes

the polarized presupposition У азербайджан не называемое притоном 'not called a den by the Azerbaijanis', i.e. describing the negatively evaluated quality as usual for another nation. The inscribed evaluative lexis is used to characterize the speech of the Azerbaijani protagonist towards the Russian landlady as the demonstration of rudeness, отказ в грубой издевательской форме 'rude mocking refusal'. The semantic attribute "devious" is evoked further on by representing the protagonist's words стал откровенен, что у него всё куплено 'revealed that he has bought everything', thus by attitudinal evocation implying that he bribed the police. In each of these acts the OTHER discourse participant is represented as an agent and the Russian woman as an affected party suffering on the part of the actions of the former, i.e. the SELF discourse participant is victimized whereas the OTHER discourse participants are negativized. Her emotional state is assessed through the premodifying adjective расстроенная 'distressed'. Judgements of the protagonists' behaviour as 'criminal' expressed in the phrase занимаются там какими-то подозрительными делами, возможно подпольным пищевым (алкогольным) производством или наркоторговлей 'do some suspicious business, probably illegal food (alcohol) industry or drug dealing' is attributed to this affected party. Finally, the judgement of the protagonist's propriety as 'unscrupulous' is inscribed in the premodifying adjective обнаглевшего азербайджанца 'unashamed Azerbaijani'. At the end, the DPNI offer themselves as rescuers in the vein of the Myth of Salvation which is often used in political discourse by oppositional movements (cf. Flood 1996).

To conclude, the author construes migrants predominantly through the evocation of semantic attributes 'illegal', 'criminal', 'devious', 'unscrupulous', 'rude', 'unashamed' by judging OTHER's propriety either though inscribed meanings or indirectly through attitudinal tokens. The affected person, i.e. a Russian woman, is evaluated through the representation of her distressed emotional state again both though inscribed meanings or indirectly through attitudinal tokens. The analysis of the whole corpus shows that the DPNI chooses to represent negative propriety of OTHER discourse participants contrasted to negative emotions of SELF discourse participants evoked by the actions of the former.

It is typical both for the Radical Corpus and Moderate corpus to use attitudinal inscriptions and attitudinal evocations. Consider the following example of attitudinal invocation in the Moderate Corpus:

4.59) Отсюда и опасение по поводу **определенных наций**, которые, по мнению населения, наиболее деструктивны и наименее способны к ассимиляции. В частности, наибольшие опасения сегодня вызывают **чеченцы и цыгане** (еще недавно в этом списке были и **азербайджанцы**, но сегодня ситуация меняется в сторону большего доверия). (МС, Veshch, 28.08.2006)

'From there, there is an apprehension regarding certain nations which, in the opinion of the population, are the most destructive and the least capable of assimilation. In particular, the most apprehensions today are caused by Chechens and Gypsies (recently, Azerbaijanis were in the same list, but now the situation is changing towards more trust).'

The evaluation of emotion of SELF and judgement of OTHER behaviour is presented through an attribution quoting the non-specific genericized SELF discourse participant through the phrase по мнению населения 'in the opinion of the population'. The negative SELF emotion is presented through the noun опасение 'apprehension'. The OTHER judgement is presented through the derogative predicates деструктивны 'destructive' and наименее способны к ассимиляции 'and the least capable of assimilation'. The specification of the phrase определенных наций 'specific ethnicities' can be seen in the following sentence as чеченцы и цыгане 'Chechens and Gypsies'; however, there is no explanation anywhere in the article in what way these nations are 'destructive'. Again, the assumption is that this statement does not require an explanation as a well-known fact about the essence of some ethnicities. OTHER discourse participants are categorized into more positive or trustworthy and more negative actors.

The meaning of the adjective деструктивны 'destructive' is open to interpretation and depends on the reader's background knowledge and other factors, e.g. whether the reader read this article before or after the conflict in Kondopoga. For instance, the behaviour of OTHER discourse participants кавказцы 'people from the Caucasus' in Example (4.60) is judged by attribution through a negatively laden noun as засилье 'stranglehold':

4.60) Глубину корней этого конфликта с легкостью подтвердит любой живущий в современной России. Жалобы на «засилье **кавказцев**» – неотъемлемый элемент частных бесед не только в провинции, но и в столице. Понятно, что разница между недовольным бурчанием и резней велика. Однако именно всеобщее бурчание, свидетельствующее о повсеместном распространении ксенофобских настроений, создает основания для погромов (МС, Biznes, 5.09.2006)

'The depth of the roots of this conflict can be easily confirmed by anyone living in contemporary Russia. Complaints about the “stranglehold” of the Caucasians is an essential element of private conversations not only in the province, but also in the capital. It is understandable that the difference between discontent groaning and massacre is huge. However, it is precisely the universal groaning demonstrating the dissemination of these xenophobic sentiments that creates motives for the pogroms.'

The connotation of засилье 'stranglehold' is unambiguously negative. Mentioning this judgement in the context of the indexical trigger Kondopoga can evoke associations of the negative judgements of propriety such as 'devious', 'criminal' and 'unscrupulous'. On the other hand, SELF discourse participants are suppressed in this article. However, the physical manifestation of their emotion described through the nouns Жалобы, недовольное бурчание and ксенофобские настроения are represented as the negative emotions experienced by SELF discourse participants triggered by the inappropriate behaviour засилье кавказцев 'Caucasians' stranglehold'. Such emotion experienced by SELF discourse participants facing inappropriate behaviour of the migrants are therefore presented as justified.

An even more vague judgement of migrants' behaviour is expressed in Example (4.61):

4.61) Что же касается именно **чеченцев**, то они могут жить в других регионах России. Но из-за особенностей поведения они должны находиться под очень жестким административным контролем. Отсутствие такого контроля будет провоцировать конфликты. историк, эксперт "Горбачев-фонда" Валерий СОЛОВЕЙ (МС, Moskovskie novosti, 6.10.2006)

'With respect to specifically the Chechens, they can live in other regions of Russia. But because of the peculiarities of their behaviour they should remain under strict administrative control. The absence of such control will provoke conflicts. Valeriy Solovey, historian, expert of "Gorbachyov Foundation".

The behaviour of OTHER discourse participants чеченцы 'Chechens' in the aftermath of the Kondopoga events is considered by the expert as 'peculiar' expressed in the nominal phrase особенности поведения 'peculiarities of behaviour', i.e. it may seem that in the case of Example (4.61) the judgement of social esteem is performed. However, the evoked associations are more likely to concern the area of propriety rather than normality and thus evaluate OTHER discourse participants with respect to the attributes 'aggressive', 'devious', 'unscrupulous' etc., i.e. negative attributes characterizing propriety. The emotions of SELF discourse participants are subsumed under the phrase будет провоцировать конфликты 'will provoke conflicts', i.e. the accumulation of unhappiness, dissatisfaction and antipathy caused by the migrants' negative behaviour.

Aggressive OTHER - negative emotions of SELF

It has to be noted that the evaluation of behaviour as aggressive not only covers OTHER representations, as Example (4.62) demonstrates:

- 4.62) Впрочем, надо сказать, что кроме перечисленного значение имеет и большая эмоциональность, резкость реакций и агрессивность **представителей кавказских народов, особенно молодежи**. [...] Другое дело, что, как сказал один из наших русских собеседников, «русские часто ведут себя не менее агрессивно, только это приписывается их личному характеру, а не национальному». (МС, Veshch, 28.08.2006)

'Although, it should be said that, apart from the aforementioned, of great importance are a bigger emotionality, harshness of reactions of the representatives of the Caucasian peoples, especially of the youth. [...] A different matter is that, as one of our Russian interlocutors said, 'Russians often behave no less aggressively, only it is ascribed to their personal character, and not national one'.

The author identifies 'aggressiveness' as a typical characteristic of the behaviour of OTHER discourse participants. The author concedes through

an attributed statement that a similar negative judgement can also be performed with respect to the Russian individuals. However, the difference is being made by evaluating a single person in the case of SELF discourse participants and evaluating genericized OTHER discourse participants представители кавказских народов 'representatives of people from the Caucasus'. Any further examples evaluating discourse participants through the semantic feature “aggressive” concentrate on the ethnic origin of discourse participants and in the case of OTHER discourse participants, any individual case of aggressiveness is by implication or explicitly genericized.

In Example (4.63), representation of OTHER discourse participants приезжие дети 'migrants' children', малыши 'young children', Родители 'parents', мигранты своей национальности 'migrants of their own nationality' are contrasted with SELF discourse participants одноклассники-москвичи 'fellow Muscovite pupils', русские дети 'Russian children' whereas the latter SELF and OTHER categorization is based on ethnonyms:

- 4.63) «В своей работе сталкиваюсь с агрессивным противостоянием. Ведь для того чтобы **приезжие дети** адаптировались к нашему городу, укладу жизни т. д., они должны быть согласны на это. Объясняю **родителям, что малышам** нужно общаться на русском языке, контактировать с одноклассниками-москвичами. А **они** при мне что-то начинают говорить своим **детям** на родном языке! **Родители** сами противопоставляют мигрантов своей национальности русским детям, в результате **приезжие** собираются в компании по национальному признаку, говорят на своём языке и на остальных смотрят свысока. (МС, Argumenty I fakty, 11.10.2006)

'In my workplace, I come across an aggressive confrontation. In order for the migrant children to adapt to our city, our way of life, etc., they should agree to do this. I am explaining to the parents that the children should be spoken to in Russian, and maintain contacts with their fellow pupils. And they, in my presence, start talking to their children in their own language! The parents themselves oppose migrants of their nationality to the Russian children, as a result, the migrants are gathering in groups according to their ethnicity, they speak their own language and they look down upon others.'

The behaviour of OTHER discourse participants is negatively evaluated as aggressive by a school teacher who describes their behaviour as агрессивное противостояние 'aggressive opposing', противопоставляют 'oppose'. Their behaviour is assessed through the evaluation of a linguistic component, i.e. migrants' speech. The semantic feature “aggressive” is explained through the phrases говорить своим детям на родном языке 'talk to their children in their native language', говорят на своём языке 'talk in their own language' and it is associated with the feature “arrogant” evoked through the metaphorical phrase на остальных смотрят свысока 'look down at others'. Such evaluation on the part of a person with a high evidential standing, i.e. школьный психолог 'school psychologist', should give a high legitimacy to the above statement, but the position from which it is expressed reveals rejection of multiculturalism through the denial of the language use of migrants' choice. The cause-and-effect relation between the language use and aggressiveness or arrogance sounds incompetent and ideologically biased.

The evocation of the semantic attribute “aggressive” is a typical strategy of OTHER representation in the Radical Corpus. Consider the following example:

- 4.64) Рассказывает старшеклассник Александр Федурин: После урока мы вышли на перемену, к нам подошли **трое дагестанцев**, двое **примерно нашего возраста**, а **третий примерно лет 25**. Он ударил меня сперва кулаком в грудь, затем по лицу. Завязалась драка. Тут прозвенел звонок, мы побежали на урок. Не успели сесть за парты, видим, под окнами ходят **дагестанцы**. Тут девчонки закричали, в класс ворвалось человек **20 дагестанцев** с дубинками. Началась бойня. Учительница Маргарита Гринько вспоминает: Я увидела, как **взрослый мужчина** пинает ногами корчащегося на полу 11-классника, мальчик закрывает руками голову. Это было очень страшно. (RC, Text 13, 18.09.2006)

'Alexandr Fedurin, a high-school student, tells: “After the class we all went out for a break and we were approached by three Dagestanis, two of whom were of approximately our age, and the third one was about 25. He first hit my chest with his fist, then my face. A fight followed. Then the bell rang, we went into the class.

We only managed to get behind the desks, when we noticed Dagestanis walking in front of our windows. Then the girls shouted and about 20 Dagestanis with clubs stormed into the class. A massacre started. Margarita Grinko, teacher, recalls: 'I saw how an adult man kicks with his feet a sixth-former who is lying on the floor. The lad is protecting his head with his hands. It was very scary'.

In Example (4.64), the attitudinal evocation is performed through the description of the fight, where OTHER participants are categorized generically through the ethnonym дагестанцы and SELF participants are particularized and nominated through Slavic names (Александр Федурин, Маргарита Гринько). The OTHER discourse participants are described as the initiators of an aggressive action, the pupils are victimized. The emotions of SELF discourse participants are also represented through a statement attributed to the teacher. These emotions are lexically expressed through the evaluative adverb страшно 'scary'. As elsewhere in the Radical Corpus, attributions are used here to legitimize and support the author's negative ideological position towards OTHER discourse participants.

4.3.3.2. OTHER neutralization

We saw earlier in the discussion of OTHER voice, that direct quotation is from OTHER discourse participants with the indication of their names (nomination) and, sometimes, titles or occupation (functionalization), can be indicative of strategies of OTHER neutralization.

It seems that one of the distinctive features of the Moderate Corpus is that OTHER negativization is countered by OTHER neutralization. Through this strategy, migrants and OTHER discourse participants can be represented as victims of corrupt authorities, as in Example (4.65):

4.65) **Ведь подавляющее большинство из тех пяти (или десяти) миллионов – наши вчерашие соотечественники, и приезжают они в Россию по безвизовому режиму, то есть легально. Это потом уже в силу разных причин **мигранты** не могут официально зарегистрироваться [...] Следуя рекомендациям МОМ – международной организации по миграции, наших бывших советских граждан, законно пересекающих границы России, нельзя считать нелегалами.**

(MC, Rossiiskaia gazeta, 3 .10.2006)

'After all, a large majority of those five or ten millions are our former co-patriots, and they come to Russia in accordance with the non-visa regulations, i.e. legally. And then for many reasons migrants cannot officially register (particularly, because of the imperfection of the current legislature) and they become persons without a particular legal status. Following the recommendations of MOM, an international organization on migration, our former Soviet citizens, who legally cross the borders of Russia, cannot be considered illegal.'

In Example (4.65), the OTHER neutralization is realized through the negation of the semantic attribute 'illegal'. Firstly, the neutralization strategy is performed by outlining a fallacy of definition through a bare assertion. The negative verbal phrase не могут официально зарегистрироваться 'cannot register officially' does not negate the semantic attribute 'illegal'. However, it represents the migrants as affected actors whereby the cause of their illegal status is attributed to some external circumstances в силу разных причин 'due to various reasons', из-за несовершенства ныне действующего законодательства 'because of the inadequacy of the current legislature'. Secondly, OTHER neutralization is performed through the reference to an expert opinion Следуя рекомендациям MOM 'following the recommendations of International Migration Organization', disclaiming the negativization of migrants through the negation нельзя считать нелегалами 'cannot be considered illegal'. The supportive role is played by the concessive phrases И вообще 'Whatever', Ведь 'well, then, you know', Это потом уже 'it is only afterwards' which are introduced to neutralize the anticipated opinions.

The strategy of OTHER neutralization can be realized through the use of evaluative attributes qualifying OTHER discourse participants, as in the examples below:

4.66) Три благополучных молодых человека, студента, в меру обеспеченные, не имевшие личных причин ненавидеть этих **несчастливых торговцев**, вдруг берут и взрывают рыночное кафе. Как потом выяснилось, они и раньше не раз предпринимали различные действия против **людей нерусской национальности**, к которым питали ненависть. (MC, Izvestiia,

27.09.2006)

'Three trouble-free young men, students, reasonably well-off, without personal reasons to hate these poor traders, all of a sudden, blow up a street cafe. As it turned out later, even earlier, they undertook various actions against people of non-Russian ethnicity, whom they hated.'

4.67) Подозреваю, что раздуваемый пожар взаимной ненависти весьма выгоден тем королям теневого бизнеса, которые наживаются на рабском труде **мигрантов** и потому кровно заинтересованы, чтобы **нелегалы** оставались в нелегалах. (МС, Rossiiskaia gazeta, 3.10.2006)

'I suspect that the fomenting fire of the mutual hatred is very profitable to those kings of the shade business, who live off the slavery work of migrants and this is why they are interested that the illegal stay illegal.'

In Example (4.66), describing an incident on the former Cherkizovskiy market in Moscow, OTHER discourse participants are represented in a dichotomic pair with SELF discourse participants. Both are categorized by reference to their occupation. The agency of an aggressive act is ascribed to SELF discourse participants who are described as Три благополучных молодых человека, студента, в меру обеспеченные 'three trouble-free young men, students, reasonably well-off', i.e. in positive terms. The affected participants are evaluated through an emotionally charged attribute несчастный 'pitiful', which demonstrates sympathy towards them on the part of the author. The evaluation of SELF discourse participants through the negative emotion ненависть 'hatred' experienced towards the sympathized OTHER discourse participants reveals a counter-expectation on the part of the author because the hatred does not stand in a cause-and-effect relation between the behaviour of OTHER and emotional state of SELF. Indeed, in the rest of the article, the expert emphasises that the hatred based on xenophobia does not require OTHER discourse participants as emotional triggers.

In Example (4.67), the negative emotion взаимная ненависть 'mutual hatred' is used to negatively evaluate both SELF and OTHER discourse participants, but the triggering phenomenon for this emotion is again different. These are external agents короли теневого бизнеса 'kings

of the shadow business' towards which the critique of the author is directed. Migrants are evaluated sympathetically through the qualification of their working conditions as рабский труд 'slave work'. Migrants are thus victimized by being represented as discourse participants suffering on account of the behaviour of these unnamed agents.

Allegedly migrants-friendly statements in the contexts of the migration politics of the Moscow City Council under the direction of the then Mayor of Moscow Yuri Luzhkov:

- 4.68) Одновременно руководители города намерены масштабнее вести пропаганду толерантности, интернационализма, прививать культуру мира. [...] Их основной мотив - показать, что **приезжие** часто не несут зла городу, а приносят реальную пользу, что необходимо уважать **представителей других национальностей**. Также власть намерена добиться от средств массовой информации объективного освещения конфликтов на межнациональной почве. И обязательный принцип - всегда препятствовать проявлениям ксенофобии и фашизма в столице.[...] Как отметил мэр, уведомительный характер учета **приезжих** ни к чему хорошему не приведет. У власти не останется рычагов влияния, контроль, который сейчас и так слабый, вообще исчезнет. А это грозит стране неприятными, а скорее опасными последствиями. (МС, Tverskaia, 13, 9.11.2006)

'Simultaneously, the heads of the city intend to conduct the propaganda of tolerance, internationalism, peace culture on a larger scale. Their major motive is to show that migrants often do not bring anything bad to the city, on the contrary, they are a real advantage, that it is necessary to respect representatives of other ethnicities. Also, the authorities intend to make the media to report objectively about interethnic conflicts. And an obligatory principle is to always prevent demonstration of xenophobia and fascism in the capital [...] As the mayor noted, the notifying character of the registration of migrants is going to bring nothing. The authorities will have no leverage, the control, which is now weak, will disappear altogether. And this threatens with unpleasant and even dangerous consequences.'

- 4.69) Юрий Лужков повышает толерантность Москвы
Вчера на заседании московского правительства мэр Москвы Юрий Лужков заявил о значительном ухудшении межэтнических отношений в Москве, а глава ГУВД Москвы Владимир Пронин доложил, что ксенофобии способствует рост преступлений, совершаемых **приезжими**. В ухудшении межэтнических отношений чиновники обвинили также СМИ и школу. [...] Мэр призвал СМИ "усилить пропаганду

толерантности". [...] По его словам, в городе необходимо формировать "благоприятную информационную среду" (МС, Kommersant, 8.11.2006)

'Yuri Luzhkov increases the tolerance of Moscow

Yesterday, at the meeting of Moscow City Council, Mayor Yuri Luzhkov announced a substantial worsening of the interethnic relations in Moscow, and the Head of Police Headquarters Vladimir Pronin reported that the number of crimes committed by migrants contributes to xenophobia [...] The mayor appealed to the media 'to strengthen the propaganda of tolerance'. [...] According to him, it is necessary to form 'a friendly informational environment'.

A seemingly neutral OTHER representation in Example (4.68) приезжие часто не несут зла городу 'often migrants do not bring any harm to the city' evokes the presupposition 'sometimes migrants bring harm to the city'. The representation appears in the statement of the allegedly migrant-friendly policies of Moscow City Council. The statement is full of bureaucrat Soviet concepts such as 'propaganda', 'internationalism', 'culture of peace' and 'public events'. Especially distrustful appears the promise всегда препятствовать проявлениям ксенофобии и фашизма в столице 'always oppose demonstrations of xenophobia and fascism'. As in the beginning of the statement, the use of the adverb of frequency raises questions with respect to how genuine the statement is. Finally, the pessimistic phrase at the end of the article ни к чему хорошему не приведет 'will bring no good results', грозит стране неприятными, а скорее опасными последствиями 'threatens the country with unpleasant, even dangerous effects' with respect to migrants reveals the real feelings of the Mayor represented by the journalist towards migrants who are perceived as a potential threat to the country. It is obvious that the incongruence in the representation of OTHER discourse participants at the beginning and at the end of the article has to do with the minimization of the negative effect of the Mayor's represented statement and the genuine content of the neutral OTHER representation is questionable.

Example (4.69) stemming from the same time period uses a different strategy in the representation of migrant policy by Moscow City Council. The negative OTHER representation глава ГУВД Москвы Владимир Пронин доложил, что ксенофобии способствует рост

преступлений, совершаемых приезжими ' Moscow Head of Interior Vladimir Pronin reported that xenophobia is being brought about by the amount of crimes committed by the migrants' contains the justification of xenophobia by the local population by focusing on the criminal character of migrants. This negative OTHER representation is skilfully framed by the statement of migrant-friendly policies performed by Moscow City Council. The headline contains the presentation of the policy Юрий Лужков повышает толерантность Москвы 'Yuri Luzhkov raises the tolerance of Moscow' whereas the second part of the article continues with the explanation of this specific policy, i.e. the positive frame is created to tone down the negative effect of the OTHER negativization. The insertion of the OTHER negative representation seems incongruent with the rest of the article which raises the same questions with respect to how genuine the content is as above. Along with the use of the positive neologisms толерантность 'tolerance' and благоприятную информационную среду 'pleasant informational environment', the bureaucratic Sovietism such as утверждение межнационального согласия 'establishing of the international agreement' is used to explain the policy of Moscow City Council towards migrants.

I can suggest that neutralization strategies can be employed as politeness strategies for face-saving (Brown and Levinson 1983) purposes, and they often appear in the presence of the strategies of negativization to down-tone potentially face-threatening (ibid.) statements. The basis of Brown & Levinson's theory is the proposition that certain human wants or desires are fundamental to social interactions – what they term positive and negative face. Certain communications are understood to put either or both of these two dimensions of face at risk – they constitute 'face threatening actions.' In order to minimise the social damage put at risk by such threats, speakers resort to communicative strategies of 'face saving'. Thus, the neutralization strategies as those described above may well be indicators of such face saving strategies by the pro-governmental media.

4.3.3.3. OTHER positivization

Although OTHER positivization is a relatively infrequent phenomenon and only exclusive to the Moderate Corpus, it is worth considering how migrants are positivized. In most cases, positivization strategy requires an attributor with a high evidential standing for the statement to achieve a higher degree of legitimization, as the examples below demonstrate.

In addition, only certain groups of migrants are being positivized. On the one hand, those migrants are being praised who have successfully 'integrated' into the local community or demonstrate the intention to do so. Such integration components as values, language, clothes and social networks, i.e. local friends instead of friends of their own nationality, are mentioned. On the other hand, certain ethnicities, such as Ukrainians, are positivized more often than others. Evidently, the common Slavic origin plays a major role in this positivization. Additionally, certain categories, such as соотечественники 'compatriots', are discussed only in positive terms.

Consider Example (4.70):

- 4.70) Люди любой национальности – и русские, и другие – дорожат своей культурой, языком, обычаями, традициями. Как показали наши исследования, надо плотнее и лучше взаимодействовать с теми **мигрантами**, которые по-настоящему хотят стать москвичами, [...] А иной раз сказать о добрых поступках русских, украинцев, татар даже полезно. профессор Института социологии РАН Леокадия ДРОБИЖЕВА (МС, Rossiiskaia gazeta, 1.09.2006)

'People of any ethnicity – Russians and other – value their culture, language, traditions and customs. [...] As our studies have demonstrated, one has to interact more closely and better with those migrants who want to be real Muscovites [...] And sometimes it is even beneficial to talk about good deeds of the Russians, Ukrainians, Tatars.'

Professor Leokadia Drobizheva presents a description of a multicultural society in which both SELF discourse participants русские 'Russians' and OTHER discourse participants мигрант 'migrants' are assessed critically. According to Drobizheva, both SELF and OTHER discourse participants are similar in the way that they share similar values дорожат своей

культурой, языком, обычаями, традициями 'value their culture, language, customs, traditions'. However, she concedes that it is worth communicating with those migrants who are willing to integrate into the Muscovite community through accepting and sharing SELF values. In addition, a semantic chain containing three ethnicities русских, украинцев, татар 'Russians, Ukrainians, Tartars' is presented in a positive context добрых поступках 'kind deeds'. It is clear that the proximity of Russians and Ukrainians in this semantic chain is not accidental. Similarly to Example (4.30), the Tartars are also included in the positivization strategy. Nevertheless, both Tatars and Ukrainians are represented as OTHER discourse participants, through the phrase и русские, и другие 'both the Russians and the others'.

In Example (4.71), a party official gives a positive representation of one particular ethnicity, and again these are Ukrainian migrants:

4.71) А мне гастарбайтеры помогли: и ремонт в квартире сделали, и дачу построили **ребята с Украины**. С этой **бригадой** я уже давно работаю, и за десять лет убедился, что ремонтные работы, которые **они** производят, вполне соответствуют нормальному и, как теперь его называют, европейскому уровню. Борис Надеждин, секретарь президиума СПС(МС, Gazeta, 18.09.2006)

'As for me, the gastarbeiters have helped me. Boys from Ukraine have renovated my flat and also built my dacha. I have been working for a long time with this team, and over the last ten years I came to the conclusion that the renovation work they are offering is of a very high, or, as it is called nowadays, European quality. Boris Nadezhdin, Secretary of General Committee, SPS'

The migrant workers are praised for their willingness to help мне гастарбайтеры помогли 'guest workers helped me'. The verb помогли 'helped' is used for the justification of employment status, as helping does not involve financial retribution. However, in this context the verb помогли 'helped' is used as a euphemism to conceal illegal relations of employment. Further on, the migrants are praised for their professional qualities. Such positivization strategy sometimes can be seen as a piecemeal strategy. For instance, migrants are first praised for a job well done in Example (4.72):

- 4.72) «Мне гастарбайтеры помогают. У нас на даче долгое время работали **ребята с Украины, а сейчас из Узбекистана. Без них** было бы довольно трудно; стоят они не очень дорого и работу делают честно. А теперь я за **этих узбеков** боюсь. Наша дача находится у Волоколамска, в Сычево, и я считаю, что там довольно-таки криминально себя ведет милиция. Мы попросили **наших гастарбайтеров** дачи сторожить, а то там их часто грабят и потом никого не находят. И вот сейчас я хлопочу о том, чтобы милиция **наших узбеков** не трогала, а дала спокойно дачу охранять». Лариса Рубальская, поэтесса. (МС, Газета, 18.09.2006)

'The gastarbeiters are helping me. At our dacha, lads from Ukraine, now from Uzbekistan have been working for a long time. Without them, it would have been very difficult; they do not cost a lot and they do all the work fairly. And now I fear for our Uzbeks. Our dacha is by Volokolamsk, in Sychiovo, and I think that the police behave somewhat criminally there. We asked our gartarbeiters to guard our dachas because the dachas are broken in often and nobody is found afterwards. And now I am making arrangements so that the police do not touch our Uzbeks, so that they can guard our dacha quietly.' Larisa Rubalskaia, poet'

The above example is one of the three attributed statements in Text 13 (the Moderate Corpus) representing a positive or sympathetic attitude to migrants. The headline of the text *Страшнее гастарбайтера зверя нет* 'There is no more frightening animal than the migrant' is analyzed in Chapter 2. The represented object of discourse acquires non-typical characteristics attributed to this object by other discourse participants. Ironic connotations are transferred from the realm of classical literature to the realm of migration discourse. The article attempts to entertain two representations of migrants: negative and positive or neutral. The positive representations are construed through the evaluation along some positive lines, as in Example (4.71). They are evaluated from the point of view of the social sanction, i.e. such semantic features as "reliable" долгое время работали 'worked for a long time', "helpful" гастарбайтеры помогают 'guest workers help us', and social esteem, such as "honest" работу делают честно 'do their job honestly'. The negative emotion of fear is directed not towards the migrants who are, on the contrary, positivized, but towards the criminal behaviour of authorities. The sympathies of the attributor are in this case with the migrants, who are represented as potentially suffering

from the criminal-like behaviour of the police. Nevertheless, as the attributor makes the readers aware relating her own experiences, her ultimate aim is to protect her own property rather than the well-being of migrants. She expresses a patronizing attitude towards migrants through the use of the inclusive possessive pronouns наших гастарбайтеров 'our guest workers', наших узбеков 'our Uzbeks' towards the end of the article, being as protective of migrants as of her own property. Example (4.73) from the article presenting the migration policy of the Moscow City Council again brings to mind the selective approach to the evaluation of migrants:

4.73) Кстати, тут необходимо четко разделить миграционный поток на две составляющие. Первая - **это русские (славяне), приезжающие из регионов страны и ближнего зарубежья.** Они быстро вписываются в московское общество, и с **ними**, как правило, особых проблем не возникает.(МС, Tverskaia, 13, 9.11.2006)

'By the way, it is necessary to clearly separate the migration current into two component parts. One is Russians (Slavs) arriving from the regions of the country and from the near abroad. They quickly integrate into the Moscow community and there are no specific problems because of them, as a rule.'

One part of migrants is represented as showing an ethnic similarity or closeness to SELF discourse participants это русские (славяне) 'these are Russians (Slavs)'. Apparently, the author of the text has in mind the category of 'compatriots'. However, the generalization славяне 'Slavs' extends the category and includes non-Russian but culturally and linguistically close ethnicities. They are evaluated more or less positively through the phrase с ними, как правило, особых проблем не возникает 'there are no special problems arising with them', and their readiness to integrate Они быстро вписываются в московское общество 'they quickly integrate into the Muscovite community' are supposed to be inferred in particular from their ethnicity. Example (4.73) introduces us to a conceptual way of categorizing migrants миграционный поток 'migration current' which uses mental imagery such as CURRENT metaphors which will be explored in Chapter 5. The image миграционный поток 'migration current' in itself does not seem to contain any evaluation, as it is divided into two

parts (две составляющие) and each part is assessed separately. A detailed analysis of mental imagery through which OTHER discourse participants are represented is offered in Chapter 5.

4.3.4. Statistical analysis of the Moderate and Radical corpus

4.3.4.1. Strategies of OTHER evaluation

It has been observed that the general picture of OTHER representation reveals the following strategies represented in the texts:

- OTHER negativization
- OTHER neutralization
- OTHER positivization
- Entertaining two or three of the above strategies.

The previous discussion demonstrates that the negative evaluation of OTHER's behaviour primarily through judgement of social sanction has a negative emotion on the part of SELF discourse participants as an effect. It can be concluded that the latter are justified to a certain extent in experiencing these negative emotions which are triggered by the negative behaviour of the former. Neutral representations of OTHER, on the other hand, do not demonstrate such a cause-and-effect relationship between the negative emotions of SELF discourse participants and the behaviour of OTHER discourse participants. Positive representations appear on a par with face-threatening negative representations, i.e. they serve to tone down the negativization effect of the negative OTHER representation.

The sub-strategies realizing these strategies in the texts are described in Table 4.5 separately for monogloss and heterogloss statements:

Strategies	Monogloss statements	Heterogloss statements
OTHER Negativization	1) Proclaiming OTHER as devious, criminal etc.	Acknowledging position 1) in attributions
OTHER	2) Victimization	Disclaiming position 1) in

Neutralization	3) Disclaiming position 1)	attributions
OTHER Positivization	4) Proclaiming OTHER as legal, non-threatening etc.	Acknowledging position 4) in attributions
5) Entertaining strategies of negativization and neutralization/ positivization		
6) Reversal of evaluative force through irony		

Table 4.5. Strategies of OTHER evaluation

It is important to emphasise that negative OTHER representations can be neutralized by disclaiming OTHER negativization or distancing from an OTHER negativizing position expressed through attributions in heterogloss statements. It is also important to note that the positions described in the previous section can be entertained in one text thus creating a different ideological stance on the part of the author who represents several positions as possible options.

In order to draw conclusions about the specific preferred strategies used in the Moderate and Radical corpus, both corpora have been searched manually. The results of the manual search are presented in Table 4.7 below:

		Number of usages			
Text		Negative	Neutral	Positive	E ⁴³
Moderate (Total number of words 43, 270)	1	11 (att., irony) 25 (att., ack.) 41,1 (att., dis.)	3 (att., irony), 13 (att., ack.), 31	2 (att., irony) 7 (att., ack) 20	yes
	2	4	1(att., ack.)	0	yes
	3	0	4	0	-
	4	7, 1(att.dis.)	15	4	yes
	5	12	15	0	yes
	6	3	0	0	no
	7	4	0	0	no
	8	1, 1(att.ack.)	0	0	no
	9	12	10	0	yes

⁴³ Entertain

	10	9 (att., ack.), 3	39	0	yes
	11	4	7	0	yes
	12	4 (att., irony), 3	15	0	yes
	13	1(att.irony.),8 2(att.,ack.),	14, 12(att., ack.)	9 (att., ack.)	yes
	14	0	4	0	-
	15	7	8	0	yes
	16	4 (att.ack.)	7 (att.ack.)	0	yes
	17	9 (att., irony)	0	0	-
	18	7 (att.ack.)	3 (att., ack.)	0	yes
	19	1(att., irony), 1	2	0	
	20	5, 1(att.ack.)	14,6(att., ack.)	0	
	21	4, 1(att., ack.)	3, 3(att., ack)	0	yes
	22	10	10	0	yes
	23	14,9(att., ack.)	4 (att.ack.)	0	yes
	24	1	2 (att., ack.)	0	yes
		11, 1(att,irony), 2		0	yes
	25	(irony), 2 (att.dis), 1(att.ack.)	13, 2(att.ack)	0	yes
	26	0	1	0	no
	27	3, 15 (att.ack.)	0	0	-
	28	0	4	0	yes
	29	1(att., ack.)	8	0	yes
	30	4, 1(att., dis.)	7	0	yes
	31	7 (att., ack.)	2 (att., ack.)	0	yes
	32	11	11	3	yes
	33	2	5, 4 (att., ack.)		-
	34	0	1, 3 (att.ack.)	1	No
	35	2 (att., ack.)	0	0	Yes
	36	1 (att., ack.)	12,2(att., ack.)	0	-
	37	0	7(att., ack.)	0	Yes
	38	2, 7(att., ack.)	5	0	Yes
	39	1 (att. ack.)	3 (att., ack.)	0	
	40	4 (att., ack.)	4(att.ack.)	0	Yes
	41	2 (att.ack.)	2 (att., ack.)	0	Yes
	42	15,5(att., ack.)	6 (att., ack.)	0	-
	43	11 (att.ack.)	0	1	-
	44	0	8, 9 (att., ack.)	0	
		342	379	45	
Acknowl.:		308+5 (irony)	379 + 36 (irony)		
Total:		313 (40.5%)	415 (53.7%)	45 (5.8%)	
Radical	1	13	0	0	no
(Total	2	38	0	0	no
number of	3	9	0	0	no
words	4	4	0	0	no
14,110)	5	4	0	0	no
	6	10	0	0	no
	7	7	0	0	no
	8	4	0	0	no
	9	2	0	0	no
	10	14 (att., ack.)	0	0	no
	11	4	7	0	yes
	12	2	0	0	no
	13	21	0	0	no
	14	17	0	0	no

	15	7(att., ack.)	0	0	no
	16	6	0	0	no
	17	14,3 (att, ack.)	0	0	no
	18	23	0	0	yes
	19	10 (att.,ack)	4, 1(att., ack.)	0	no
	20	10, 2(att.ack.)	0	0	no
	21	10 (att., ack.)	2 (att., ack.)	0	yes
		234	14	0	
		234	14	0	
Acknowledged: Total:		234 (94.3%)	14 (5.7%)	0	

Table 4.6. Evaluation of OTHER discourse participants in the Moderate and Radical corpora (number of usages and percentage)

Table 4.6 shows the number of usages in which OTHER discourse participants are negativized, neutralized or positivized in the analyzed corpora. In addition, texts are assessed with respect to the presence of entertaining negative and neutral/ positive representations. This method of assessment of strategies of entertaining is not applied to the texts giving only positive or neutral representations.

The statistical results demonstrate that whereas the Radical Corpus uses almost exclusively negative OTHER representations (234, or 94.3%, negative usages versus 14, or 5.7%, neutral usages), neutralizing strategies of OTHER representation in the Moderate Corpus are more frequent than negativization strategies. Thus, 415 (53.7%) OTHER representations are neutral, whereas 313 (40.5%) OTHER representations are negatively evaluated, and only 45 (5.8%) OTHER representations can be considered as positive. Frequently, authors of the texts in the Moderate Corpus entertain strategies of negativization and neutralization. The latter observation can be indicative of two purposes, one of them being to introduce alternative viewpoints to initiate a democratic (or democracy-like) type of debate, another one being a face-saving strategy. As the table demonstrates, only 6 out of 42 analyzed texts in the Moderate Corpus use unambiguously neutral representations, most of them being texts on legislative initiatives.

A significant factor in both Moderate and the Radical Corpus is a

large number of attributed OTHER representations, i.e. a total of 266, or 34.4%, out of 773 usages for the Moderate Corpus, total of 49, or 19.7%, out of 248 usages for the Radical Corpus. While attributions appear as frequent strategies within media discourse in general (cf. White 2006), in the analyzed corpora they seem to be employed for strategic purposes. Journalists can tone down or neutralize negative representations by disclaiming them or applying irony. On the other hand, they can endorse the representations by explicitly or implicitly acknowledging them or simply presenting them as a fact, i.e. leaving them without any commentary. For instance, out of 150 negative OTHER representations in the Moderate Corpus, 126 have been endorsed through acknowledging. In the Radical Corpus, all negative OTHER representations have been endorsed through acknowledging. Hence, the following conclusion can be made with regard to the role of the media in the analyzed corpora. In the Moderate Corpus, the media is used by the elite discourse participants, i.e. Moscow City Council, for the construction of negative OTHER representations.

4.3.4.2. Calculating indices of evaluative force

In order to compare the evaluative content of OTHER representations in Moderate and Radical corpora, the notion of the index of evaluative force has been introduced. The idea of evaluative force is based on the findings of De Landtsheer (2004, 2008) who uses corpus-based calculations to assess the emotive power of metaphors.

I suggest that not only metaphors, but any emotionally charged language can be assessed in terms of evaluative force which is expressed through appraisals, i.e. evaluative representations of discourse participants. The index can be calculated for negative, neutral and positive representations according to the following formulae:

$$Ef(\text{neg}) = (Nu(\text{neg}) : Nw) \times 100$$

$$Ef(\text{neut}) = (Nu(\text{neut}) : Nw) \times 100$$

$$Ef(\text{posit}) = (Nu(\text{posit}) : Nw) \times 100$$

where

E(f) is index of evaluative force

Nu is number of usages

Nw is total number of words

In order to calculate the indices of negative, neutral or positive evaluative force, the total number of negative, neutral or positive usages is divided by a total number of words in the corpus analyzed. Since the acquired sum can be too small due to the nature of corpora, for the simplification of the comparative procedure the sum is multiplied by 100.⁴⁴

Using the data from Table 4.6 as the first input into the formulae, the following results have been obtained:

Corpus	Index of evaluative force		
	Negative	Neutral	Positive
Moderate	(313 : 43, 270) x 100 = 0.7	(415 : 43, 270) x 100 = 0.9	(45 : 43, 270) x 100 = 0.1
Radical	(234 : 14,110) x 100 = 1.6	(14 : 14,110) x 100 = 0.1	0

Table 4.7. Indices of evaluative force in the Moderate and Radical corpora

According to the results presented in Table 4.7, the highest index of evaluative force is for negative OTHER representations in the Radical Corpus (1.6). The index of neutral evaluative force for OTHER representations in the Radical Corpus is insignificant (0.1). The same

⁴⁴ Multiplication by 100 is also used by De Landtsheer (ibid.) in her calculations of emotive power.

number is demonstrated by the index of positive evaluative force in the Moderate Corpus (0.1). The index of negative evaluative force in the Moderate Corpus is more than twice as low as that of the Radical Corpus (0.7 versus 1.6). It is also slightly lower than the index of neutral evaluative force in the Moderate Corpus. Hence, it can be concluded, that the Radical Corpus uses evaluative language in order to negativize OTHER discourse participants twice as the preferred evaluative strategy. The total sum of neutral and negative indices in the Moderate Corpus is the same as the negative index in the Radical Corpus (1.6) whereby the index of neutral evaluative force (0.9) is slightly higher than that of negative evaluative force (0.7) due to the higher number of neutral OTHER evaluations.

These data suggests that the Moderate Corpus does not evaluate OTHER discourse participants as negatively as the Radical Corpus. There is a relative balance of negative and neutral OTHER representations with a predominance of neutral representations and a small presence of positive evaluations in the Moderate Corpus. Whereas the Radical Corpus can be described as racist in terms of ideology, the Moderate Corpus tends to maintain equilibrium in the negative and neutral/ positive OTHER representations and it would be partial to designate it as racist or anti-immigrant out of hand. Entertaining anti-OTHER and OTHER-neutral ideologies is a feature of the Moderate Corpus that distinguishes it from the Radical Corpus in which entertaining of these two positions is minute and it is done so for the specific purpose of discrediting some OTHER discourse participants.

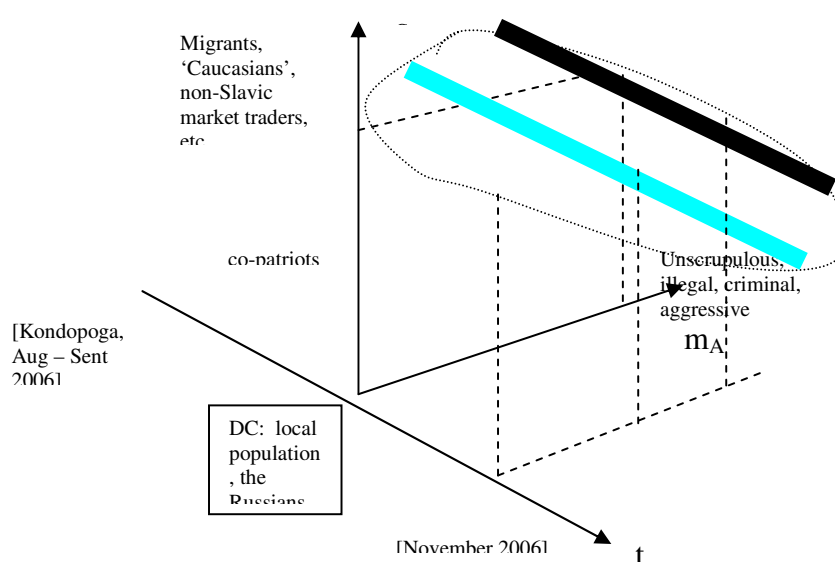
SECTION III

4.4. Construction of Discourse Space Ontology

The above findings can be used to describe the representations of SELF and OTHER in the on-going discourse on migration in August 2006 to November 2006 by conceptualizing them in terms of *discourse space ontology* (Chilton 2004). According to Discourse Space Theory, as

discourse unfolds, discourse space ontology is construed. Discourse space ontology for SELF and OTHER representations is an ideational and ideological construction (cf. Hart and Lukes 2008:117) in which people (but also events, states of affairs and processes) are conceptualized. Following Hart and Lukes (ibid.), we can see that mental spaces resemble representations whereas discourse spaces representing the narrative constructed in discourse resemble *metarepresentations* (Sperber 2008).

The SELF-OTHER dichotomy established in this chapter can be conceptualized in the discourse space in the following way:



Colour key:

- Radical Corpus
- Moderate Corpus

Figure 4.2. Discourse Space Ontology for SELF and OTHER representations in contemporary Russian media discourse on migration

The bipolar categorization concerns two groups of population. In the spatial axis the category of SELF discourse participants is linguistically represented through nominal phrases such as местное население 'local population', русские 'Russians', русские дети 'Russian children' etc., or Russian personal names or surnames. These discourse participants are

located in the deictic centre (DC). Interpersonal categorization is conducted by the media through the highlighting of specific semantic properties, which linguistically (through nominalizations, nominal phrases and attributive phrases as main referential strategies) foreground particular attributes of discourse participants, such as ethnicity, provenance and occupation. The lexicogrammatical resources in the commentary are either noun phrases (NPs) which contain a large number of proper names or 1st person pronouns. OTHER discourse participants characterized as мигранты 'migrants', кавказцы 'Caucasians', лица южной национальности 'persons of Southern nationality', чеченцы 'Chechens' etc. are at the other end of the social axis which emphasises their represented or implied sociocultural distance. It is worth mentioning that the strategies of positivization or neutralization place some discourse participants closer to the category of SELF, i.e. соотечественники 'co-patriots' are the closest discourse participants to the category of SELF followed by migrants of Slavic origin, primarily Ukrainians. The possibilities of meaning negotiation give the categories of SELF and OTHER fuzzy boundaries in migration discourse.

The temporal axis is important for the representation of the on-going analyzed discourse which unfolds in August to November 2006. The starting point in the analyzed corpus is marked by the interethnic clashes in Kondopoga in late August to early September 2006, the representations of which have a major repercussion on the further migration discourse by becoming a part of the migration frame.

The modal axis (mA) seems to be particularly significant in its axiological capacity⁴⁵. The axiological element means that SELF and OTHER can be assessed not only in terms of spatial distancing but also in terms of represented contrasting values and antagonistic behaviours. The deictic centre of the axiological axis marks positive values of the SELF category of the deictic centre and then tends to negative values attributed to OTHER discourse participants. The discussion in Section II of this chapter allowed establishing the most important semantic attributes through which

⁴⁵ See Cap (2008:34-39) for a discussion on the role of axiological modality in the US war-rhetoric legitimizing the war on Iraq and the construction of the axiological modal axis.

OTHER discourse participants are represented. These are the attributes “unscrupulous”, “aggressive”, “devious”, “illegal” and “criminal”. According to Van Dijk’s ‘ideological square’ hypothesis (1998), the negative representations of OTHER in migration discourse correspond to positive representations of SELF, which is expressed implicitly or explicitly in the text. The study conducted in this chapter found that OTHER discourse participants are not only negativized, but also neutralized which moves OTHER discourse participants closer to SELF discourse participants on the modal axis.

As a result, the migration discourse ontology for the analyzed period can be schematically represented as a plane, on one edge of which there are representations that tend to negativize OTHER discourse participants (Radical corpus), and in the middle of which there is a combination of negative and positive or neutral representations (the Moderate Corpus). A large number of texts exists in which authors entertaining negative and neutral representations of OTHER which can be positioned in the middle of the discourse space ontology plane.

4.5. Conclusions

It can be concluded that despite an extensive use of OTHER negativizing strategies, the pro-governmental media prefer to present alternative positions through neutralizing and even positivizing strategies. The assertion by Kozhevnikova (2007) that the contemporary Russian pro-governmental media discourse on migration in the autumn of 2006 is purely negative towards migrants is correct with regard to the Radical corpus. Nevertheless, it should be recognized that the number of authors who present alternative positions in their publications in the Moderate Corpus is quite substantial and this is suggestive of a representation of several tendencies.

One is a tendency to create a more or less liberal discussion or an impression of a liberal discussion of the Russian pro-governmental media to migration discourse by representing alternative ideologies.

Another tendency finds its explanation within the boundaries of the theory of politeness (Brown and Levinson 1983). In the light of this second tendency, it can be suggested that the desire of the pro-governmental media to save their positive face causes the media to resort to apparent departures from negativization strategies which are expressed in an excessive employment of neutralizing strategies.

Yet another explanation suggests a certain bias on the part of the service of the Moscow City Council whose selection criteria for the articles discussing SELF and OTHER representations placed on the website exclude certain text genres. For instance, there is a complete absence of criminal news in the Moderate Corpus, which constitute the main bulk of negative OTHER representations in the Radical Corpus. The reason for the exclusion of such texts may be non-intentional or intentional so as to construe a pseudo-liberal approach to SELF and OTHER representations in migration discourse.

Finally, some methodological deficiencies in Kozhevnikova's (2007) study may be the reason for the incomplete analysis of migration discourse. The current study, for example, suggests the category 'entertaining of positions or strategies' in analysing the texts, which is absent in her classification of journalistic texts. It seems that whenever a negative OTHER representation appears in the text it is automatically classified as supportive of hate language. Kozhevnikova does recognize that the methodology used in the identification of negative representation and subsequent assessment of media with respect to the presence of hate language requires improvements as it does not account for indirectness, amongst other things. In this respect, some theoretical categories suggested by Martin and White (2005), which have been considered in this study, such as the system of attitude and engagement, are invaluable in assessing evaluative strategies in migration discourse.

To sum up, the following conclusions can be made on the bases of the analysis of the Moderate and Radical corpus in Chapter 3:

- Section 1 demonstrates that the concept SELF and OTHER is negotiated through the lens of ideology of ethnicism. The empirical study demonstrates SELF-OTHER representations negotiated in

terms of their semantic attributes. The comparison of the Moderate Corpus and Radical Corpus reveals a striking similarity in the use of discursive strategies in both corpora. Both Radical and Moderate corpora illustrate that the ideology of ethnicism is a preferred ideology chosen to characterize OTHER in the Russian migration discourse. The same ideology is also a preferred ideology with right-wing radical discourse subjects to characterize SELF discourse participants. One of the ways to convey this ideology is to evoke semantic attributes that focus primarily on ethnic origin, but also on differences in physical appearance, names, geographical origin, and other cultural stereotypes, amongst other things. Another way is to use indirectness represented in semantically ambiguous expressions with a 'non-ethnic' conventionalized meaning such as мигрант 'migrant', гражданин 'citizen', соотечественник 'co-patriot'.

A further analysis of SELF and OTHER representations demonstrated that the following categorizing strategies (after Van Leeuwen 1996) have been used both in the Moderate and Radical Corpus, although their use demonstrates some differences:

OTHER	SELF
Classification by: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⤴ physical appearance ⤴ name ⤴ ethnicity ⤴ immigration status ⤴ occupation 	Classification by: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⤴ physical appearance ⤴ name ⤴ ethnicity ⤴ settlement status
Nomination in attributions which the author uses in neutralizing strategies (good OTHER or OTHER as a victim)	Functionalization and nomination in all attributions for the purposes of legitimization
Genericization (negative identification in groups)	Collectivization (positive representation of discourse participants as collective)
Negative assessment of linguistic competence; however: good OTHER -	

positive assessment of linguistic competence	
Aggregation, mostly in the calculations concerning legal/ illegal migration	Aggregation, mostly as survey respondents

- In Section II, it has been established that a preferred way of OTHER evaluation is through the situations which evaluate OTHER through judgements of propriety conterminously evaluating SELF discourse participants through negative emotions which are triggered by the negative behaviour of OTHER discourse participants. It can be concluded that due to the high number of texts negativizing OTHER, the ideology of ethnicism is a type of ideology used to discriminate OTHER discourse participants against SELF discourse participants. However, the comparison of the Moderate and Radical corpus demonstrates that whereas with radical discourse participants OTHER negativization is realized as an outright strategy, the pro-governmental media evaluates OTHER through negativization, neutralization or entertaining both these strategies. positivization primarily serves to outline some groups of migrants whereby an ethnic or cultural/ linguistic closeness to the local population is emphasised. The purposes for the selection of neutralizing strategies by the pro-governmental media may be twofold: 1) to create a liberal or pseudo-liberal debate on migration, 2) face-saving in the presence of many negative OTHER representations.
- SECTION III has demonstrated that the above findings can be applied to the construction of a theoretical model of discourse space ontology which conceptualizes the interpersonal relationship between SELF and OTHER represented in the media texts offering a mental model of SELF and OTHER representation in the on-going discourse. Such a mental model accounts for some discursive representations of the conceptual entity SELF and OTHER and the concept-specific semantic attributes which were represented in the Russian migration discourse in August-November 2006.

Representation of SELF and OTHER through metaphor in pro-governmental media

5.1. Rationale and research questions

In the previous chapter I demonstrated how SELF and OTHER discourse participants are represented by the media through emphasising specific semantic attributes as a referential-categorizing strategy. It has been found that Moderate and Radical corpora use similar strategies of SELF and OTHER categorization. With regard to evaluative strategies, it has been demonstrated how OTHER discourse participant are predominantly negativized in the Radical Corpus with elements of negativization used in the Moderate Corpus. It has been acknowledged that authors in the Moderate Corpus also entertain negative and neutral but also positive OTHER evaluations for strategic purposes. I came to the conclusion that pro-governmental discourse uses external attributors to construct predominantly negative OTHER representations.

This chapter is concerned solely with mental imagery in pro-governmental discourse. It deals with the analysis of discourse metaphors and in Extended Moderate corpus (August 2006 – August 2007). Metaphors are regarded as aspects of conceptual structure which can be employed strategically to convey certain ideological positions in migration discourse. This chapter presents a detailed analysis of the most frequent discourse metaphors through the framework of Conceptual Blending Theory which attempts to account for novel meanings emerging in metaphorical expressions, amongst other things (Fauconnier and Turner 1996, 2002). Apart from this, I will continue to explore the representation of SELF and OTHER through the categorizing strategies of social actors set out by Van Leeuwen (1996). Finally, the evaluative strategies of SELF and OTHER

representation through mental imagery will be analyzed. In sum, the aim of this chapter is to confirm the observations made in the previous chapter with regard to the categorization and evaluation of SELF and OTHER discourse participants. In addition, as the study uses an extended moderate corpus, a diachronic approach should show the ways, if any, in which the evaluation of OTHER representations changes in the period from September 2006 until September 2007.

The following research questions have been set out for this study:

1. What are the most frequent discourse metaphors in the extended Moderate corpus according to their source domains? What is their composition and how do SELF and OTHER contribute to the conceptual structures composed through these metaphors?
2. How do we arrive at the emergent meanings of the metaphorical expressions containing the discourse metaphors identified earlier?
3. Which are the categorization strategies used to represent SELF and OTHER through these metaphorical expressions?
4. What roles does evaluation play in these metaphorical expressions? How do the metaphorical expressions reflect the pattern of evaluative representation established in Chapter 4? What is the correlation of negative versus positive/ neutral OTHER representations in the corpus of metaphors?
5. How are specific ideologies of migration discourse identified in Chapter 4, i.e. ethnicism and racism, expressed through metaphorical meanings?

5.2. Previous research on metaphors in Migration Discourse

Metaphors are perceived in CDA as a crucial ideological rhetorical means. The role of metaphor in communicating ideologies and realizing various discursive strategies has been widely acknowledged among mainstream CDA analysts (see Reisigl and Wodak 2001, Fairclough 1989, 1992, 2001, Van Dijk 1998a). Most of the available metaphorical studies within CDA incorporate a cognitive theory of language, typically a conceptual metaphor theory. In Chapter 2, I introduced the discussion on metaphors by outlining

a difference between conceptual metaphor and discourse metaphor, the latter being “a relatively stable metaphorical projection that functions as a key framing device within a particular discourse for a certain period of time.” (Zinken et al. 2007: 363). The cultural situatedness of discourse metaphors is the major feature which distinguishes them from more universal and context independent conceptual metaphors. Following Zinken et al. (2007), I suggest that certain metaphors employ cultural knowledge and may be coined to advance certain interests at the expense of others, i.e. for ideological purposes. Discourse metaphor prompts the speaker to construct a negotiated meaning.

Reisigl and Wodak (2001:58) recognize metaphor as an important referential device for constructing in- and out-groups. Using the available studies of German and Austrian discourse on migration, they demonstrate that the stereotypical metaphors in migration discourse are employed in the negative referential constructions representing OTHER discourse participants or negative effects of immigration. Their comprehensive inventory of metaphors representing OTHER discourse participants includes the following most frequent metaphors:

- natural disasters (immigration as avalanches or floods);
- water (immigration as current);
- body (groups are ascribed collective bodies; foreign groups are conceptualized as ‘foreign bodies’ or alien elements)
- disease/ infection (migrants are an epidemic)
- animals (immigrants as parasites; herds)
- war/ fight/ military (immigration as a military activity)
- house/ building (the in-group’s territory is a house)

(after Reisigl and Wodak 2001:59-60)

O’Brien (2003) in his study of metaphors in the early US immigration restriction debate identifies the metaphor Immigrant as Object in the debate that is illustrated through images of immigrants as waste from Europe and object of labour. He discovers Organism metaphors that perceive of immigrants as objects that can be digested and sources of disease. He also identifies metaphors that represent immigrants as natural disaster and as animals. Immigrant as Animal is a wide-spread conceptual metaphor in

right-wing migration discourse which is based on the concept of the Great-Chain-of-Being.⁴⁶ Representing a human being as animal is not novel and it does not necessarily contain assumptions which make the discourse racist. Nevertheless, the evocation of this concept in migration discourse often carries the implication that discourse can be classified as potentially racist.

Santa Ana (2002) also identifies the Immigrant as Animal metaphor in his study of metaphors depicting Latinos in the late 1990s US public discourse as a predominant metaphor. In the examples which he analyzes, the animal-like metaphors is expressed mostly through verbs and fairly rarely through crude direct comparisons with animals. He concludes that the metaphors based on or implying the concept of the Great Chain of Being are profoundly racist. According to Santa Ana (2002:88), such metaphors can trigger inferences which emphasise the inferiority of immigrants deprived of human rights and dignity just like animals. Santa Ana (ibid.) also demonstrates how the semantic domain DANGEROUS WATERS is invoked to characterize the IMMIGRATION domain, in which human beings are reduced to an undifferentiated quantity of water which is inherently powerful and dangerous, if not controlled. Yet other important immigration metaphors in Santa Ana's study come from the source domain of WAR which produces the metaphor Immigration As Invasion/Takeover. The invasion is perceived here as an organized attack by armed forces with the objective of taking over a region or country and it stresses a violent aggression against America. Santa Ana (2002) also distinguishes between more fundamental and more cultural higher-level metaphors, which are "woven layer upon layer in webs of semantic associations" (Santa Ana 2002:79). This web of semantic associations and presuppositions constitutes the basis for a semantically congruent understanding of the world" (ibid.). It can be suggested that what Santa Ana actually means is the difference between conceptual and discourse metaphors as understood in this thesis. He turns to the metaphor Nation As House in order to demonstrate its arbitrary and contingent associations with immigration metaphors many of which characterize immigrants in terms of chaos,

⁴⁶ Cf. Chilton's (2005a) analysis of Hitler's Jews-as-Parasites metaphor in Chapter 1.

destruction and other perils to Nation As House.

Charteris-Black (2006) focuses on the use of metaphors in the right-wing discourse in the British context. In explaining the ideological aspect of the Container metaphors, Charteris-Black draws on his own Critical Metaphor Theory (Charteris-Black 2004, 2006, 2009). CMT constitutes a cognitive framework within CDA insofar as it incorporates a cognitive imagery theory of language, i.e. a conceptual metaphor theory. In his view, “metaphor is an important characteristic of persuasive discourse because it mediates between these conscious and unconscious means of persuasion – between cognition and emotion – to create a moral perspective on life” (Charteris-Black 2006:13). Charteris-Black (ibid.) shows how metaphors of Britain based on the image schema State-As-Container permeated right-wing discourses dealing with immigration as natural disaster. The island of Britain is perceived as a container which is “swamped” by the incoming “tides”, “waves”, and “flows” of immigrants. The far-right-wing rhetoric uses these images to introduce their agendas to defend the island from the “natural disaster” whereas the centre-right criticises the government primarily for the lack of control facing the natural disaster. Charteris-Black considers the metaphors that exploit the images of “tides”, “waves”, and “flows” with relation to immigrants and relates them back to the source domain of natural disaster, which is a meta-discursive category that unites all these metaphors. Considering the emotional appeal of such metaphors, he asserts that language can be used to activate unconscious emotional associations, and that it influences the value that we place on ideas and beliefs on a scale of goodness and badness.

Hart (2008) develops his research on metaphors in the British immigration discourse by applying tools of the conceptual blending theory following in the steps of Chilton (1996, 2004). In Hart's view, the analysis in the framework of the CBT allows us to account for both cognitive and pragmatic aspects of the use of metaphors such as emergent meanings. Similarly to Charteris-Black (2006), he finds container metaphors to be the most productive metaphors to discuss immigration in Britain. While analysing the container schema in detail, he shows how the principle of division (Chilton 1996:147) is applied to construct an in-group versus an

out-group in terms of spatial boundaries. Despatialization, i.e. conceptualizing migrants as located outside the boundaries of a conceptual container linguistically expressed through prepositional prompts, is named a primary OTHER referential strategy by Hart (2008). Hart demonstrates that the container schema can be instantiated through metaphors of HOUSE whereby those who stay inside the container-state do so rightfully and permanently. Migrants, on the other hand, are perceived as unwanted guests representing a threat to the security of in-groups inside the container-state.

5.3. Data and Methods

5.3.1. Corpus

For the analysis of metaphoric expressions, the Moderate Corpus was extended to include the texts produced from the period from mid-November 2006 until the end of August 2007, i.e. Extended Moderate Corpus contains texts produced from the end of August 2006 until the end of August 2007. The corpus used for this study is restricted to the pro-governmental texts reproduced on the website of Moscow City Council as no comparative analysis between pro-governmental and radical discourse has been envisaged.

The discourse content is based mainly on the discussion on the topics introduced in the autumn of 2006 (see the Pilot Corpus). The main discourse-driving events mentioned in the corpus concern the effects of the legislative acts passed on November 15, 2006. The two acts on migration proclaimed the introduction of quotas for migrants from January 1, 2007, change in the administrative procedure of migrants' registration and the restriction and, from April 1, 2007, the ban on trading in the markets by anyone who did not have a Russian citizenship.

A corpus of metaphors was created through the manual search of all texts pertaining to Extended Moderate corpus. The linguistic metaphors discussed various aspects of the concept SELF- OTHER, i.e. local population, migrants and authorities, migration as process as well as actions

by the aforementioned subjects of migration discourse, were classified according to the conceptual metaphors which served as source domains for such linguistic metaphors. The following major source domains were analyzed: HOUSE, FAMILY, CURRENT, WAR, LIGHT-SHADOW, RESTRAINT and BODY. The number of other metaphors was insignificant. The metaphors were then calculated manually and analyzed in terms of their ontology, conceptual structure and associated socio-cultural narrative.

5.3.2. Identification of Metaphors

Discourse metaphors in my corpus are analyzed in terms of conceptual operations involving conceptual metaphors, mental spaces and the recruitment of background knowledge in the form of frames, scripts and image schemas, as well as categorization. Metaphorical expressions, i.e. the linguistic instantiation of discourse metaphors and conceptual metaphors, are taken as basic units of analysis. The metaphorical expressions are graphically identified through underlining.

Metaphors can be described through a single lexical unit, such as a noun or a verb, i.e. гость ‘guest’ or выдворить ‘to deport’, a collocate, i.e. хлынули потоки ‘currents have rushed in’, and even metaphorical situations, i.e. Когда иммигранты не понимают, «по каким правилам в городе идет игра», если вокруг все зыбко и неопределенно, они пытаются найти устойчивую опору, воспроизводя на новом месте привычные для них отношения и культурные ценности (Example (5.6)).

The criteria for the identification of metaphors suggested in the literature vary from intuitions to detailed heuristic identification methods. Charteris-Black (2004:20-22) defines a metaphor as a word or phrase that causes semantic tension through reification⁴⁷, personification or depersonification. It is unclear, however, how to classify the metaphor of the following type

⁴⁷ Reification is referring to an abstract entity, relation, situation, event or process with a word or phrase which in other contexts refers to something that is more concrete.

"Дружба народов" обходилась базару дешевле, чем зачистка торговых рядов. (Moskovskie novosti, 24.11.2006)

'The people's friendship was cheaper for the market than the cleansing of market stalls.'

The post-Sovietism Дружба народов 'friendship of the peoples' is contrasted with the metaphor of зачистка 'cleansing'. The metaphoric expression based on the CLEANSING metaphor originates in the post-Soviet discourse in the context of the first and second Chechen wars. At the base of this metaphorical expression lies the discourse metaphor MIGRATION IS INVASION, which conceptualizes migrants as enemies threatening the security of the Russian state (see analysis of CLEANSING metaphors later in this Chapter). As becomes obvious, neither of the criteria suggested by Charteris-Black (2004), i.e. reification, personification or depersonification, is helpful in identifying this metaphor.

At the pragmatic level, a metaphor is "an incongruous linguistic representation" (Charteris-Black 2004:21). Steen (2007) acknowledges that the lexis which is incongruous with the rest of the text can provide good clues for the identification of a metaphor. Steen (2007: 319) suggests that whether certain linguistic expressions can be accepted as linguistic forms of metaphors depends on the researcher's definition of a metaphor. If indirect language use forms the basis of this definition then many linguistic expressions which directly indicate the referents involved may not be considered as metaphors. If, however, the definition of metaphor is located not in the language but in conceptual structure then any linguistic forms expressing cross-domain mappings that are based in some form of similarity should qualify as metaphors. As this study defines metaphor as a conceptual phenomenon, it adopts the way of identification of metaphor suggested by Steen (2007).

5.3.3. Analytical frameworks and methods

The analysis of metaphors is conducted under the consideration of two frameworks:

- Conceptual Blending Theory (See Chapter 2)

The analytical strategies concern the identification and description of specific conceptual source and target domains which are used to compose conceptual blends. The composition of conceptual blends is examined in more detail to show what role SELF and OTHER discourse participants play in the construction of emergent meanings.

- Critical Discourse Analysis (See Chapter 1)

CDA states the existence of unequal power relations in discourse, in which certain views towards socially significant matters are expressed through certain discourse strategies and structures. CDA offers a general analytical apparatus, which can be calibrated depending on the area of research. In short, identification and description of certain linguistic phenomena and strategies must be followed by an explanation to such phenomena with respect of their role in the construction, perpetuation or destruction of such unequal relations in discourse practices._

The classification criteria according to domain broadly correspond to those outlined by Reisigl and Wodak (2001:59-60) for metaphors. The classification criteria for SELF and OTHER representations follow the inventory of strategies of the representation of social actors established by Van Leeuwen (1996).

The analysis of evaluative metaphor content follows broadly the lines of Beer and De Landtsheer (2004:19-21). The metaphors are given values from lower to higher emotional power. However, the scale suggested by Beer and De Landtsheer (ibid.) is substantially modified to migration discourse, i.e. values are determined directly through corpus analysis. No indices on evaluative force are calculated this time, as only an intra-corporal comparison is envisaged.

The analysis is supplemented by the identification of evaluative strategies (after Martin and White 2005). A theoretical introduction to Chapter 4 Section III gave an overview of Appraisal Theory by explaining the systems of attitude and engagement. In Chapter 5 I relocate my attention to the more indirect language, such as metaphors and metonymies. Additional concepts from Appraisal Theory will be applied to the analysis of SELF and OTHER representations.

5.4. Results and Discussion

The following discourse metaphors have been identified in the corpus analyzed and classified according to various domains:

Source Domain Number of Usages %	Examples	Translation
CURRENT 58 26.1%	миграционный поток Массовый приток кавказцев ...приток малоквалифицированных иностранцев... ...стекаются главные потоки мигрантов ...пускать на самотек. Надо, чтобы ухари- мигранты не переполняли...	Migration current Mass inflow of Caucasians ...inflow of low-qualified foreigners Major currents are flowing in to leave to flow freely it is necessary that tearaway migrants do not overfill
HOUSE 47 21.1%	– Хотите запереться на засовы? Придут друзья или родственники, а вы сидите тут взаперти... открыть ворота для трудовой миграции настежь - Сколько человек вы выдворили в этом году? Грузин сколько выдворено? Гости из бывших соцреспублик кто уже приехал в Россию и живёт на птичьих правах ...Когда же квартира превращается в коммуналку, то отношения сразу портятся	- Do you want to hide behind the locks? Friends or relatives will come and you are sitting here behind the locks... to widely open the gates for working migration -How many people have been deported this year? How many Georgians have been deported? Guests from former socialist republics who have already moved into Russia and live here "on birds' rights" ... When the flat turns into a communal flat, the relationships are immediately getting worse.
CONFLICT/ WAR 37 16.6%	огромной подпольной армии торговцам-нелегалам объявлен бой "Я зачищу страну или город от них и от той грязи, которую они разводят" «зачистка» столичных рынков	A fight has been declared against a huge underground army of illegal traders "I will clean the country and the city of them and of this dirt which they are taking around" The "cleansing" of the capital's markets
FORCE/ RESTRAINT 18 16.6%	снять ненужные административные барьеры перед трудовой миграцией ... диаспоры выдавливают их из бизнеса под нажимом проверяющих органов	To remove unnecessary administrative barriers before working migration ..diasporas are pressing them out of business Under the pressure of controlling organs
LIGHT-DARK	Втемную вывести миграцию из тени	In the dark To take the migration of the shadow/shade

12 5.4%	Кто там, в тени? Мигрант на свету	Who is there, in the shadow/shade? Migrant in the light
BODY 15 6.7%	прыщ на теле, покрытом язвами Москва беременна Кавказом	A blotch on the body covered in ulcers Moscow is pregnant with the Caucasus
ANIMAL 11 4.9%	бегать за тараканами с мухобойкой все это превращается в муравейник	To run behind cockroaches with a fly swatter All this turns into an ants heap
FAMILY 7 3.1%	Старший брат "братских" республик	Elder brother "brotherly" republics
TECHNOLOGIC AL 6 2.7%	«перевести стрелки» недовольства на приезжих; механизм, который позволил бы нам ввести их в правовое поле; без пилотажной апробации»; нелегальная миграция оказывалась «магнитом», притягивавшим к себе криминальные элементы;	To throw the points of discontent over to migrants The mechanism that would make us lead them into the legal field Without pilot approbation Illegal migration turned out to be a magnet drawing criminal elements
PATCHWORK 3 1.3%	Сообщество выходцев с Кавказа [...] оказывается гораздо мозаичнее; Москва –[...] не «лоскутное одеяло»	A community of natives of the Caucasus turns out to be more mosaic; Moscow is not a "patchwork blanket"
PLANT 2 0.9%	отсеvu "плохих" мигрантов начали вызревать "грозди гнева"	Screening "bad" migrants "Grapes of wrath" started to grow
OTHER DOMAINS 6 2.7%		
TOTAL: 222 100%		

Table 5.1. Metaphors according to their source domains

Table 5.1 demonstrates that there are three dominant metaphors in the corpus, i.e. those based on the semantic source domain of HOUSE, those based on the source domain of CURRENT and those based on the domain CONFLICT/ WAR. I will discuss the most frequent metaphors, i.e. those

based on the domains of CURRENT, HOUSE, CONFLICT/ WAR, FORCE/ RESTRAINT, LIGHT-DARK, BODY, ANIMAL and FAMILY in more detail in the following sections.

5.4.1. CURRENT Metaphors

As mentioned before in this chapter, WATER is one of the most frequent semantic source domains used to describe the process of migration, the agents, i.e. migrants, and the goal towards which the moving water is directed. Migrants are constructed as an unquantified mass of waters moving towards their destination country. Such movement of non-quantified mass of fluid is presented in the corpus through the discourse metaphor MIGRATION IS CURRENT, which is linguistically represented through the nouns поток 'current', приток 'inflow', отток 'outflow':

- 5.1) "Во-первых, растущая экономика требует рабочих рук, поэтому стал больше сам приток мигрантов. По неофициальным данным, за последние месяцы он вырос на 10-15%..." (Biznes, 30.08.2006)

'First of all, the growing economy demands more working hands, this is why the current of migrants has become bigger. According to unofficial data, it has grown 10-15% over the recent months.'

- 5.2) Поставнин подчеркнул, что поток мигрантов не должен пугать россиян. (Rossijskaia gazeta , 21.11.2006)

'Postavnin emphasised that the migration current does not need to frighten the Russian citizens.'

- 5.3) Несколько лет назад жители Калуги и Твери охотно ехали в столицу на заработки, [...]. Однако в последнее время поток сократился - упала численность населения. (Rossiiskaia gazeta 11.01.2007)

'Several years ago, people from Kaluga and Tver willingly went to the capital to earn their money [...]. However, recently, the current has diminished – the number of people has dropped.'

- 5.4) [...] мигранты пока выжидают, массового «оттока мигрантов не происходит». (Nezavisimaia gazeta, 29.01.2007)

'[...]migrants are still waiting, there is no mass 'outflow of migrants'.

Examples (5.1)-(5.4) represent a homogeneous impersonalized mass of migrants conceptualized as water. Their quantity is unknown, their identities are not important. Not only non-Russian migrants are conceptualized in terms of water, but also жители Калуги и Твери 'residents of Kaluga and Tver' whose movement is described through the phrase ехали в столицу 'used to go to Moscow' in Example (5.3). In Examples (5.1), (5.2) and (5.4) the conceptualization is attributed to external participants, who are identified through names and functions as representatives of authorities. This strategy of attribution is realized to lend authority to the statement of the author. None of the above examples directly negativizes migrants. However, the neutralization of migrants in Example (5.2) поток мигрантов не должен пугать россиян 'the current of migrants should not frighten the Russian citizens' evokes the presupposition "поток мигрантов пугает россиян" 'the current of migrants frightens the Russian citizens'. Thus, the attitude of the Russian citizens with respect to the migrants' actions is described through the negative emotion which these actions can cause.

Unlike Charteris-Black (2006), I suggest that the discourse participants in migration discourse may be conceptually represented not as fluids themselves, but as component parts of the fluids⁴⁸. Such conceptualization of discourse participants corresponds to Lakoff's (1987) image schema which describes the part-whole relationship between the environment and the object. This image schema forms the basis of the discourse metaphor MIGRANTS ARE OBJECTS CARRIED BY WATER. Consider Examples (5.5) and (5.6):

5.5) Массовый приток кавказцев начался около пятнадцати лет назад: люди ехали к осевшим на севере родственникам от нестабильности и войны (Vlast', 11.09.2006)

' A mass inflow of the Caucasians began about fifteen years ago: people went to [their] relatives who had settled down in the north escaping from the instability and war.'

⁴⁸ Chilton (1996:52) notices in respect with this that under the influence of Force image schema the moving actor may not entirely be the agent but the subject of some force who does the sending.

- (5.6) Когда иммигранты не понимают, «по каким правилам в городе идет игра», если вокруг все зыбко и неопределенно, они пытаются найти устойчивую опору, воспроизводя на новом месте привычные для них отношения и культурные ценности. (Rossiiskaia gazeta, 1.09.2006)

'When the immigrants do not understand, 'what the rules of the game in the city are', if everything is shaky and unstable they try to find a stable ground reproducing habitual relations and cultural values in the new place.'

Migrants are frequently conceptualized as some sort of objects carried by the migration currents towards the host country/town/region. Once they have arrived at the host country/region they can settle down осесть “settle down” like the solids settling down to the bottom as in Example (5.5). In Example (5.6), the situation at the receiving end for migrants is conceptualized as physically unstable through the adverb зыбко 'unsteady, shaky', which in its literal meaning is used to characterize seas or bogs.⁴⁹

The content of currents is not homogeneous. Conceptualized currents contain both wanted and less wanted or unwanted objects, as demonstrated in Examples (5.7) – (5.9):

- 5.7) Кстати, тут необходимо четко разделить миграционный поток на две составляющие. Первая - это русские (славяне), приезжающие из регионов страны и ближнего зарубежья. Они быстро вписываются в московское общество, и с ними, как правило, особых проблем не возникает. Вторая составляющая - представители национальных регионов: Северный Кавказ, Закавказье, Средняя Азия. Именно между ними и москвичами зачастую возникают диссонанс и напряженность. (Tverskaia, 13, 9.11.2006)

'By the way, it is necessary to clearly separate the migration current into two component parts. One is the Russians (Slavs) arriving from the regions of the country and from the near abroad. They quickly integrate into the Moscow community and there are no specific problems because of them, as a rule. The second component is the representatives of the national regions: the Northern Caucasus, the South Caucasus, the Central Asia. Precisely between them and Muscovites a dissonance and tension arise.'

⁴⁹ This conclusion is made on the account of the analysis of 130 entries of the adverb *зыбко* from the Russian National Corpus.

- 5.8) Правительство старается отсечь приток малоквалифицированных иностранцев, которые изначально не собираются легализовываться и платить налоги. (Komsomol'skaia pravda, 24.01.2007)

'The government tries to cut off the inflow of low-qualified foreigners who are not going to legalize and pay taxes from the start.'

- 5.9) Чем плоха была старая «запретительно-разрешительная» система? Вовсе не тем, что ограничивала приток мигрантов, а тем, что делала она это очень плохо. [...] Плохо потому, что она провоцировала коррупцию, а та, в свою очередь, — увеличение потока мигрантов незаконных и полужаконных. (Expert, 29.01.2007)

'What was bad in the old “restricting-allowing” system? Not in the way it was limiting the migration current but in the way that it was doing it badly [...] It was bad because it was provoking the corruption and the corruption, in its turn, the increase of the of the current of legal and illegal migrants.'

The currents are conceptualized as containing the objects of two types: the Russian/ Slavic population and the representatives of the Caucasus and Middle Asia in Example (5.7), i.e. the basis of categorization is ethnic origin, or highly-qualified and non-qualified migrants in Example (5.8), i.e. migrants are categorized according to their occupation. The two parts of the current are evaluated. One, containing those closer to SELF discourse participants is evaluated in positive terms with the positivization based in ethnic terms (See the analysis of positivization strategies in Chapter 4). Another part, which is geopolitically, culturally and ethnically more distant, is portrayed as causing a negative reaction amongst SELF discourse participants: диссонанс и напряженность 'dissonance and tension'. Thus, the migration flow from the Caucasus and Middle Asia is represented as a threat to the security of SELF discourse participants at the level of both national and personal security сфере общественных, семейных отношений 'sphere of public, family relations'. On the whole, the “positive” part of the migration current is manageable, whereas “the negative” part is presented as unmanageable.

On their way to the desired destination the migrants can be

prevented from reaching their target by regulating bodies: Правительство 'government' (Example 5.8) or the anonymous система 'system' (Example 5.9). In Example (5.9), the unwanted types of migrants are identified as незаконные 'illegal' and полузаконные 'half-legal'. The criticism of the 'liberal' approach to migration by the Moscow Mayor Luzhkov in the latter extract is directed towards the pre-reformed controlling and regulating system which did not successfully perform its responsibilities by allowing the unwanted objects/ discourse participants to penetrate the territory of the country.

As suggested, currents are often represented as controllable by the official bodies and being able to manipulate with:

- 5.10) ФМС сможет перераспределять потоки мигрантов (Kommersant, 1.11.2006)

'Federal Migration Service will help to redistribute migration currents'

- 5.11) Потоки миграции – в нужное русло (Nezavisimaia gazeta, 17.11.2006)

'Migration currents – into the necessary riverbed.'

- 5.12) В Москве, куда стекаются главные потоки мигрантов, давно поняли, что эти процессы нельзя пускать на самотек. (Vecherniaia Moskva, 21.12.2006)

'In Moscow, where all major migrant currents are flowing into, has been understood for a long time that such processes cannot be given a free flow.'

Exercising control or regulatory functions over migration currents means either redirecting them or restricting them. The agents of the regulatory actions are either named explicitly as старая «запретительно-разрешительная» система 'old prohibiting-permitting system' in Example (5.9) and ФМС 'Federal Migration Service' (5.10) or they are backgrounded by not being named as in Examples (5.11) and (5.12). Example (5.12) gives a further elaboration of the discourse metaphor MIGRATION IS CURRENT in the form of the idiom пускать на самотек, 'to lose control over the current'. As suggested by Santa Ana (2002),

currents in themselves do not represent danger, unless they are uncontrollable. The regulatory body in Example (5.12) is represented metonymically by the place name Москва 'Moscow' which may be indicative of the Moscow government or the government of the Russian Federation. The discursive-conceptual basis of the above metaphorical expressions is formed by the discourse metaphor Control over Social Change is Control over Movement of People whereas movement of people is conceptualized as movement of water.

The currents can vary in intensity and the higher the intensity is, the more migration currents are negativized. Consider the following examples:

- 5.13) Прописку отменили, но одновременно распалось государство, границы новой России остались открытыми, и сюда хлынули уже потоки иностранных мигрантов. (Rossiiskaya gazeta, 10.11. 2006, Yuriy Luzhkov, Mayor of Moscow)

'The registration has been cancelled, but, at the same time, the country disintegrated and currents of migrants have started rushing here in masses.'

- 5.14) Страна разорилась, и миллионные массы хлынули в Москву. Их никто и никогда не выгонит, потому что столица России и сама страна - это совершенно разные вещи! (Gazeta, 21.11.2006, Mikhail Tanich, poet)

'The country has gone bust, and the million-strong masses have rushed into Moscow. Nobody will ever throw them out because the capital of Russia and the country are completely different things.'

- 5.15) В последнее время Россия столкнулась с очень мощным иммиграционным притоком, причем он достаточно равномерно распределился по территории страны (Moskovskie novosti, 15.12.2006)

'In the recent times, Russia has been confronted with a very strong migration inflow whereby it has spread across the country more or less evenly.'

- 5.16) Россия, как многие другие страны, делает акцент на том, чтобы на границе задержать огромный поток иностранцев вместо того, чтобы сбалансировать внутренний спрос на них, говорится в исследовании. Ничего, кроме массового притока нелегалов, в этом случае быть не может (Vedomosti, 17.01. 2007)

'Russia, similarly to many other countries, lays an emphasis on the

detention of the huge current of foreigners at the border rather than balancing out the internal demand, the survey reports. In this case, there cannot happen anything but the mass inflow of migrants.'

- 5.17) Никому и в голову не могло прийти, что уже через несколько лет Россию захлестнет многомиллионная волна мигрантов [..]. (Moskovskiy komsomolec, 14.06.2007)

'Nobody could even imagine that only after several years, a many-million-strong wave of migrants would sweep through Russia, spontaneous slave markets will emerge along the roads and foreign districts would start to appear in the cities.'

While most of the previous examples present more or less neutral representations of migrants, the conceptualizations provided in examples (5.13) – (5.17) are suggestive of apprehension and anxiety expressed by the text authors or attributors with respect to the quantity of currents through which migrants are conceptualized. The fast moving currents are described through the verb *хлынули* 'rush, pour' as in Examples (5.13) and (5.14). In Example (5.14) the current is presented as a pseudo-quantified mass *миллионные массы* 'million-strong masses'. In Examples (5.16) and (5.17) the intensity and strength of the currents is described through the adjectives *очень мощным* 'very powerful', *огромный* 'huge' and *массового* 'mass'. Examples (5.13) – (5.17) identify the final destination of the currents as *Россия* 'Russia' or *страна* 'the country'. In Example (5.13), Russia is conceptualized as a container with openings–borders through which currents enter the inner space of the container: *границы [...] остались открытыми* 'the borders [...] remained open'. Example (5.16) evokes the image of the closed space by referring to the internal space of the container-state through the phrase *внутренний спрос* 'internal demand'. Example (5.16) conceptualizes the country as a moving entity which clashes with the current: *Россия столкнулась с очень мощным иммиграционным притоком* 'Russia clashed with a very powerful immigration current'. The country is described as penetrated by this current *он достаточно равномерно распределился по территории страны* 'it spread evenly across the country'. Migrants are represented as component parts of or particles in such currents and have no agency over their own actions. SELF discourse participants appear metonymically represented by the country

Россия 'Russia' or страна 'country', which is negatively affected by migrants' actions.

While all of the above examples employ OTHER representations based on nature metaphors, it is only in one example that the effect of the migration current on the country is conceptualized in terms of natural disaster, i.e. flood:

- 5.18) В последнее время власть вплотную занялась мигрантами. К 2007 г. законодательство обогатится целым списком документов, меняющих миграционную политику. Как будут бороться с нелегалами, наводнившими Россию? (Argumenty i Fakty, 22.11.06)

'How will the illegal migrants who have swamped Russia be confronted? Как будут бороться с нелегалами, наводнившими Россию?

In the case of Example (5.18), the negative affect is inscribed into the agentive participle наводнившими 'those who have flooded' characterising migrants as dangerous and illegal in the phrase нелегалами, наводнившими Россию 'the illegal migrants who flooded Russia'.

The country, but also the capital city can be described in terms of a container which accommodates the incoming currents, i.e. masses of large quantities of water:

- 5.19) Основной приток трудовой миграции концентрируется в крупнейших городах и в первую очередь в Москве. (Rossiiskaia gazeta, 27.02.2007)

'The major inflow of working migrants is concentrating in the larger cities and, in the first place, in Moscow.'

- 5.20) Процесс повышения престижа образования среди русской молодежи произошел буквально на глазах. И как раз после того, как Москва стала наполняться мигрантами. (Komsomol'skaia pravda, 15.03.2007)

'The increase of interest in education among the Russian youth has happened literally in front of (our) eyes. Especially after Moscow has started being filled with migrants.'

- 5.21) Кроме того, чиновников пугает «стихийное наполнение города гражданами других государств, приезжающими в

поисках заработка». (Gazeta, 6.06. 2007)

'Besides, the civil servants are frightened by the 'spontaneous filling of the city by the citizens of other countries who are arriving in the search for earnings'.

- 5.22) Надо, чтобы ухари-мигранты не переполняли, а дополняли экономическую систему города. Ни одного лишнего нам не нужно,— заявил мэр. (Kommersant, 7.06.2007)

'It is necessary that the tearaway migrants do not overfill but complement the economic system of the city. We do not need to have even one too many.'

The recourse to the image schema of the container is a frequent strategy in migration discourse (Chilton 2004, Charteris-Black 2006, O'Brian 2003, Santa Ana 2002). Chilton argues for the importance of the spatial metaphor for political discourse in general. He discusses a container schema in which "what is inside is close to the self and what is outside is outside the law" (Chilton 2004:118). From the container schema he derives "a special containment schema which grounds conceptualizations of one's country as a closed container that can be sealed or penetrated" (ibid.). As we see in the above examples, a container can be portrayed as having limits not only for the migrants from outside the country but also for the migrants within the country. Not surprisingly, the anti-migrant discourse in Moscow has been in place since the time when лимита 'temporary resident workers' started arriving in Moscow in the 1960s. The capital-as-container is presented as something that can be filled (наполняться), and overflow (переполняться). As will be shown later, the image schema of container is used extensively in migration discourse. Migrants can be negatively evaluated through inscribed negative appraisal, such as ухари-мигранты 'tearaway migrants' in Example (5.22). In this example, they are contrasted with the local population which is represented by the inclusive 1st person pronoun нам 'us' used by the Mayor of Moscow with respect to the residents of Moscow. Example (5.21) uses the verb пугает 'frightens' with the inscribed negative meaning to demonstrate the effects of the migration flows on the Moscow officials.

From the point of view of the sociosemantic representation of

discourse participants, the categorization strategies of SELF and OTHER representations given through the Current metaphors are different in several ways. The peculiarities of such categorization are outlined below:

- **Migrants** are objectified, i.e. depersonified, and genericized, i.e. presented in groups which are conceptualized as currents. They are not differentiated, i.e. no individual identities are mentioned in such conceptualizations. They can be negativized through evocation of negative emotions associated with anticipating negative results of massive currents on the territory affected by the currents. Sometimes, specific ethnicities or provenance of migrants can be used to identify migrants.
- **SELF** discourse participants are represented a) as negatively affected by the sheer force of migration currents, b) not affected in case the regulating bodies exercise control over migration processes. The regulating bodies or officials are represented through functionalization (specific positions within governmental offices) and differentiation, i.e. through politonyms (россиян 'Russian citizens'), metonyms (Москва 'Moscow'), Россия 'Russia' or inclusive personal pronouns (нам 'us').

What is similar in migrants and currents that enables us to analyze them as one mental entity? In order to explore the conceptual connections between the domain of MIGRATION and the domain of CURRENT, the above metaphors can be analyzed in the framework of Conceptual Blending Theory. CBT uses the notion of mental spaces as a basic unit of cognitive organization which represent particular scenarios. They are schematically depicted through the following four-space model.

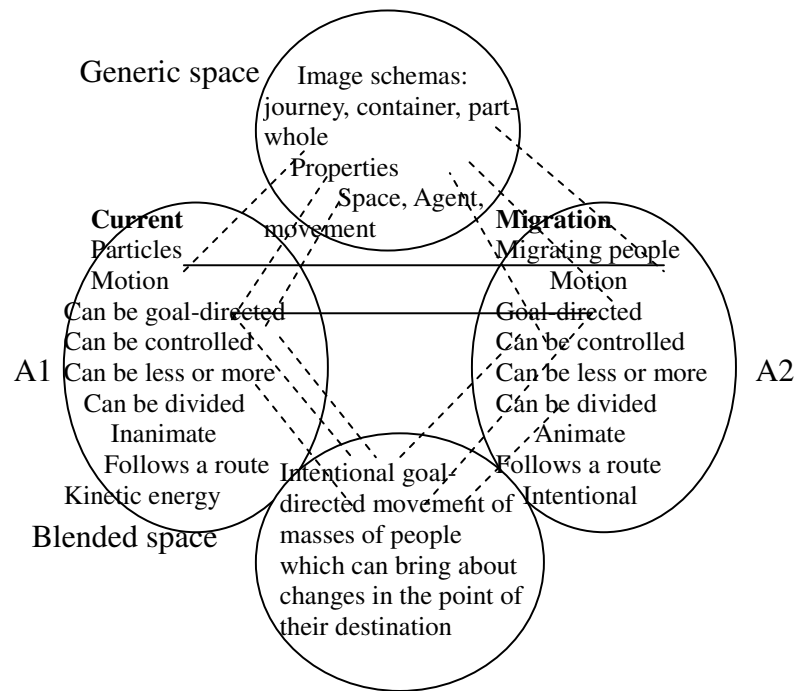


Figure 5.1. Conceptual scenario for MIGRATION IS CURRENT metaphors

Previously in this thesis, I suggested that conceptual structures arising through entrenchment can become *stereotypical* or *entrenched conceptual scenarios* for the representation of SELF and OTHER discourse participants (See Section 2.3.2.1). My argument is based on the suggestion by Fauconnier and Turner (2002: 49) that conceptual blends can give rise to conceptual and formal structures that can be shared throughout a community. I suggest that conceptual scenarios, such as that presented in Figure 5.1 can give a stereotypical conceptual base for linguistic instantiations in Examples (5.1) – (5.22) discussed above.

The conceptual scenario in Figure 5.1 represents the interaction of two input spaces. Input space A1 draws on the source domain of WATER. Input space A2 draws on the domain of a human's physical activity, i.e. movement towards a specific goal. The spaces are structured by well-entrenched background frames, image schemas and mappings. Such background frames for the migrating masses of people can contain various information, e.g. personal beliefs, culture-specific stereotypes, cognitive assumptions, memories, associations, feelings about migration and migrants. Mappings between these two spaces specify why humans have to

be taken as currents specifying their relations in common. Such relations as Properties (Motion, Can be goal-directed, Can be controlled, Can be less or more, Can be divided) or Space (Follow routes) are shared between the two input spaces. They are connected through mappings and projected into the generic space and into the blend. The two spaces do not share the property of animacy or intentionality. Neither is the kinetic energy of the currents envisaged as a characteristic of the migrating masses of people. However, the emergent meaning in the blend shows that some effects are expected to be brought about by the migrants. Such changes are either negative, i.e. overfilling the city-as-container, damaging language of the host group or performing illegal activities, or positive, i.e. improving the demographic situation or filling vacancies in the sectors that the members of the host nation refuse to take up. The CBT analysis envisages the selective projection of such originally separate properties of animacy, intentionality and kinetic energy in the blended space. On the contrary, inanimacy as a property of currents is not projected into the blend. Such a kind of emergent meaning cannot be captured in a CMT-style analysis that focuses on the projections and mappings between the source and target domains. Being able to account for the generic space which contains roles, abstract relations, schemas and frames is another advantage of the CBT-style analyses. The generic contains abstract elements common to both input spaces, i.e. image schemas of journey, container and part-whole relationship (Lakoff 1987), the properties of motion, and the ability to be goal-directed, divided, of more or less measured and restrained.

The emergent meaning “Intentional goal-directed movement of masses of people which can bring about changes in the point of their destination” can also become entrenched, giving rise to a more stable conceptual metaphor **MIGRATION IS CURRENT** which can be shared throughout the community (cf. Fauconnier and Turner 2002:49).

Of course, the conceptual blend presented in Figure 5.1 is only an approximation that can be recalibrated for any specific instance of linguistic metaphor based on the semantic domain of **CURRENT** where other relations between the input spaces can be focused upon. Consider the metaphors from the following excerpt of an interview given by then Mayor

of Moscow Yuri Luzhkov:

5.23) По инициативе президента России разрабатывается комплекс мер по возвращению в Россию соотечественников, предполагающий осмысленное направление этого потока в заданные государством рамки. [...] Российскому правительству и парламенту оказалось достаточно Кондопоги, чтобы задуматься над эффективностью курса на либерализацию в миграционной сфере. Хочется верить, что выполнение соответствующего президентского поручения пойдет не по привычному пути "ловли блох", а путем ревизии основ миграционного законодательства. Благо, у нас еще есть пока время предотвратить миграционную катастрофу. [...] В соответствии с новой "уведомительной" системой миграционного учета государство устраняется от какого-либо регулирования направления, скорости, объема, качества трудовых миграционных потоков и ограничивает свои задачи не обязательными функциями регистратора. (Rossiiskaia gazeta, 10.11. 2006)

'On the recommendations of the President of Russia a set of measures facilitating the return of compatriots to Russia is being developed, which assumes a meaningful/ sensible direction of this current into the limits/ frame set by the government. [...] Kondopoga was sufficient for the Russian government and the parliament to make them think about the effectiveness of the course on liberalization in the migration sphere. One wants to believe that the implementation of the respective presidential instruction will not follow the traditional way of "catching the flees", but the way of the revision of the basis of the migration legislature. Fortunately, we still have got time to avert the catastrophe.[...] In conformity with the new "notifying" system of the registration of migrants, the state opts out of the regulation of the speed, size, quality of working migration currents and limits their tasks to the optional functions of a registrar.'

The image schema of containment is recruited to present Moscow in terms of a container that can be penetrated by migrants due to the lack of the governmental control. Such properties of the currents as direction, speed, volume and quality are focused on. The input space of current thus represents a short-term construct which focuses on the following properties of the current: movement, controllability, direction, speed, volume and quality. The migrating people are moving towards the capital at different speeds, they can be controlled, i.e. issued entry visas and work permits, and

they can have different levels of qualification, i.e. from manual workers to highly-skilled migrants. The image schemas of journey and part-whole relationship are recruited into the generic space as well as the discourse metaphor MIGRATION IS CURRENT. In the blended space, the federal government appears as an irresponsible agent over the migration currents. One part of the current, i.e. соотечественники 'compatriots', envisages a wise, intelligent control on the part of the government направление этого потока в заданные государством рамки 'intelligent redirection of this current into the frames determined by the state'. In the case of трудовые мигранты 'working migrants', by contrast, the function of the state is critiqued by Luzhkov in the following way: устраняется от какого-либо регулирования направления, скорости, объема, качества трудовых миграционных потоков и ограничивает свои задачи не обязательными функциями регистратора 'the state opts out of any regulation of the direction, speed, volume, quality of working migrants' currents'. The input space of migrating people also contains all the negative associations evoked by the mentioning of Kondopoga which metonymically stands for the ethnic clashes in September 2006. Hence, the associated ideology of ethnicism is also recruited into the blended space. The negative effect of such lack of control over the other part of the migration current is presented as detrimental and leading to natural disaster непредсказуемые последствия 'unpredictable consequences' and миграционная катастрофа 'migration catastrophe'. The resulting metaphoric blend is presented in Figure 5.2:

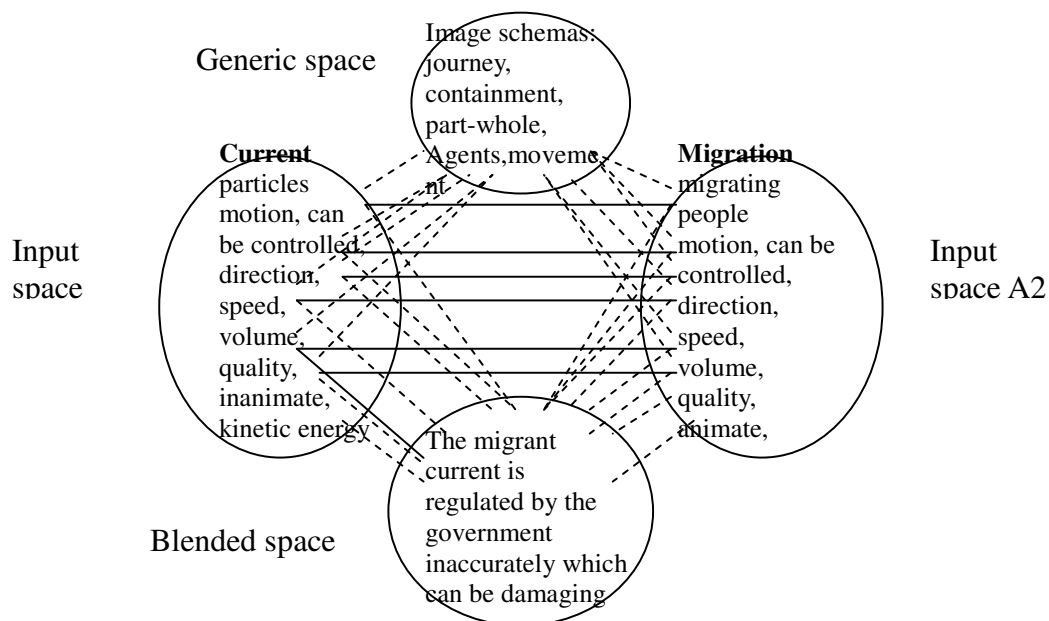


Figure 5.2. Metaphoric blend in Example (5.23)

This metaphoric blend can be regarded as a complex multi-layered conceptual blend where the output in the blended space can serve as an input to another conceptual network.

The agency in Example (5.23) is backgrounded throughout the whole discourse unit. In the very beginning, the politonym Россия 'Russia' metonymically represents the government. The government and the parliament are mentioned in connection with Кондопога Российскому правительству и парламенту оказалось достаточно Кондопоги 'to the Russian government and the parliament, Kondopoga was enough' and then again metonymically through the generalizing totum-pro-parte metonymical reference государство 'state' in connection with the failure to exercise its duties in the sphere of migration государство устраняется от какого-либо регулирования 'the state opts out of any regulating'. Both uses evoke negative associations and appear as a critical representation of the governmental actor.

Another example gives a metalinguistic commentary on the discussion on the same issue in which the then Mayor Luzhkov also takes an active part. In the article which came out on March 1, 2007, the author criticizes measures introduced by the government after January 2007.

Specific policies are criticised, e. g. «Зачистка» 'cleansing' (see discussion of cleansing metaphors later in this chapter):

- 5.24) «Зачистка» рынков тоже вышла «боком». По данным Роспотребнадзора, столица – едва ли не единственный регион, где иностранцев на рынках действительно было много. И когда приезжих уволили, многие торговые точки в столице закрылись. А оставшиеся, разумеется, повысили цены! (Vecherniaia Moskva, 1.03.2007)

The “cleansing” of the markets also turned out a mess/ badly. According to Rospotrebnadzor, the capital is perhaps the only region where there were really many foreigners in the markets. And when the migrants were dismissed, many selling outlets in the capital closed down. And the remaining ones have, of course, have raised the prices!'

Whereas the mild criticism in the article is directed towards the Federal Migration Service, no agency is being named in the cleansing metaphor. The author suggests that the restrictive measures may have been justified by asserting as a fact иностранцев на рынках действительно было много 'there were really many foreigners in the markets.' The negative effect of the policy is presented as a desperate measure on the part of the migrants А оставшиеся, разумеется, повысили цены! 'And the remaining ones have, of course, have raised the prices!', although there is no direct negativization of migrants.

Luzhkov refers to the transparency as one of the characteristics of migration currents further in the article:

- 5.25) По его мнению, приток мигрантов нужно сохранить, но при этом сделать его легальным и прозрачным. Для этого, по мнению Юрия Лужкова, нужно вернуть обязательную регистрацию мигрантов по месту жительства. (Vecherniaia Moskva, 1.03.2007)

In his opinion, the migration current should be preserved, but it should be made legal and transparent. In order to do this, in the view of Yuri Luzhkov, a compulsory registration of migrants according to their place of residence must be returned.'

The above comparison is structured by means of the conceptual metaphor that is based on the field of vision. Two scenarios are constructed that constitute a metaphorical blend. In the scenario of the input space A1, there

is a current that contains certain objects which are moving and this current is non-transparent. The lack of transparency is potentially dangerous because the objects that are not seen can be of the size that could damage, i.e. the boat, the dam or the human beings in this scenario. If such objects move at a very high speed they can even destroy human-made structures. They are potentially dangerous because due to the lack of visibility their anticipated danger cannot be estimated and prevented. The current is more easily controlled if visibility is not obstructed. This is why it is important that the current is transparent. In the scenario of the input space A2, the masses of migrants are moving towards the borders where they are dealt with by the federal border control agency. Or they reach their final destination where they can be controlled and redirected by the FMS. Potentially dangerous migrants are those who strive to enter the country illegally, i.e. without entry clearance or work permit, or those who do not register with the migration authorities, or those who take up other employment or those who engage in criminal activities etc. The lack of visibility means that lack of certain legislation allows such potentially dangerous migrants to deceive the controlling authorities or the imperfect legislation makes the process of migration uncontrollable. Such interpretation of non-transparent migration current can be constructed in the blended space. The generic space recruits image schemas of journey, container and part and whole relationships. It also recruits background knowledge structures associated with currents, migration, potential danger of non-transparent currents and potential danger of migration such as described above. We see that the above metaphor is used in represented discourse. The author of the text reiterates the conceptual pattern suggested by Luzhkov, but this conceptual blend is explicitly attributed to the then Mayor.

5.4.2. LIGHT-DARK metaphors

Non-visibility can also be associated with danger in yet another way. Such threats are constructed by means of the conceptual metaphor LEGAL IS IN LIGHT - ILLEGAL IS IN DARK which originates in the semantic domain LIGHT-DARK, as in Example (5.26):

5.26) Мы создаем прозрачный рынок труда, с помощью которого сможем вывести из тени незаконно работающих. (Profil', 23.10.2006, K. Romodanovskiy)

'We are creating a transparent job market, with the help of which we will be able to take the illegal workers out of the shade.'

Head of the Federal Migration Service Konstantin Romodanovskiy presents the transparent market as a means of “taking out of the shade” (вывести из тени) illegally working migrants. The discourse metaphor LACK OF DANGER IS TRANSPARENCY appears in combination with the metaphoric expression constructed on the basis of the contiguous discourse metaphor ILLEGAL IS IN DARK, i.e. the emergent meaning that arises is Dangerous Is in the Dark. It becomes clear that if a discourse participant is evaluated as something dangerous, the Darkness metaphor can be applied to this participant. Lakoff and Johnson (1980:48) assert that metaphors of light and darkness are part of the conceptual metaphor UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING. However, the importance of cultural and social knowledge gives a different account of discourse metaphors based on the domain of vision. Charteris-Black (2005), for instance, suggests that cultural knowledge is more important in determining the type of mappings with the domain of light in Churchill’s use of light metaphors. These are mainly based on the conceptual metaphor HOPE IS LIGHT with the target domain of hope (Charteris-Black 2005:51-52). He mentions that in religious discourse light metaphors contrast with dark metaphors in which there is an equivalence between darkness, spiritual ignorance, evil and Satan (ibid.). Thus, the darkness metaphors can be conceived as negativizing the agent who remains in the dark.

Metaphors based on the domains of LIGHT-DARK are a frequent phenomenon in contemporary Russian discourse. They are mostly associated with economic discourse and they are used in such conventional metaphorical expressions as теневая экономика ‘shadow economy’, теневой сектор ‘shadow sector’, теневая среда ‘shadow environment’, теневой рынок труда ‘shadow employment market’. In this meaning illegal activities in the market are associated with shade/shadow, i.e. darkness, whereas legal activities are always in the light. Hence,

negativization is realized through the strategy of criminalization in economic discourse. Since OTHER discourse participants are represented as closely involved in economic activities, especially in markets (see Chapter 4), but also in other branches of the economy, light - dark metaphors are expected in migration discourse.

The conventional and novel metaphorical expressions containing references to shade/shadow follow the pattern of OTHER negativization through representing them via darkness metaphors:

- 5.27) Как известно, в весеннюю сессию депутаты приняли новый закон [...] чтобы снять ненужные административные барьеры перед трудовой миграцией, вывести ее "из тени". (Rossiiskaia gazeta, 8.09.2006)

'As it is well known, in the spring session, MPs issued a new law [...] in order to remove unnecessary obstacles/ hurdles in front of the working migration, in order to take it "out of the shade".'

- 5.28) Ромодановский пояснил, что эта мера поможет «не остаться в тени» тем, кто уже проживает на территории России, но так и не оформил надлежащих документов». (Gazeta, 29.09.2006)

'Romodanovskiy explained that this measure will help those who already reside on the Russian territory but have not registered all the documents "not to remain in the shade".'

- 5.29) На первый взгляд упрощение процедуры регистрации выглядит разумным – это должно вывести миграцию из тени (Vecherniaia Moskva, 1.03.2007)

'At the first glance, the simplification of the registration procedure looks reasonable – it must take the migration out of the shade.'

- 5.30) Азербайджанцы в тень уйдут, а за прилавком будут стоять украинки, которыми они на самом деле будут командовать. (Gazeta, 29.03.2007)

'The Azerbaijani will go into the shade and they will be in charge of the Ukrainian women who will stay behind the counters.'

References to shade/ shadow in the above examples always appear in idiomatic collocates, such as вывести из тени 'to lead out of shade', пребывать в тени 'to remain in the shade', остаться в тени 'to stay in the shade', уйти в тень 'to go into the shade'. If migration is perceived as a

socio-economic phenomenon, and the migrants as socio-economic actors, than the associations of shade/shadow and illegality are very strong as they allude to the well-known concept describing the criminal economy as теневая экономика. In many cases, the reference to shade/ shadow is used without implication of intentional illegal activities, rather, the illegal status as a result of the lack of proper legislation. Therefore, the introduction of the new legislation is intended to be a justification for liberating migrants from their illegal status.

In Example (5.27), ненужные административные барьеры перед трудовой миграцией are indicative of the restraints that force migrants into their illegal status. Examples (5.27), (5.28) and (5.29) directly focus on the positive effects of the new laws. Example (5.30) critiques the new migration legislation by failing to account for the ‘shadow sector’ which OTHER discourse participants may use due to their deviousness. It describes a hypothetical scenario negativizing a specific ethnic group Азербайджанцы 'Azerbaijani'. The following interpretations of the metaphor в тень уйдут ‘go into the shade’ can be suggested: a) “to become invisible to the controlling bodies”, b) “to perform illegal activities”. Hence, all the above examples are based on a presupposition which has two premises: 1) “migrants are in the shade” and 2) “shade is the sign of criminality”. The resulting syllogism is “migrants are criminal” which suggests an explicit negativization of migrants.

The following example demonstrates a sympathetic stance towards some migrants and the fault for their existence в тени ‘in the shade’ and is also attributed to some anonymous королям теневого бизнеса ‘kings of the shadow business’:

(5.31) ...быстрота и массовость вспыхнувших в стране новых «кондопог» вызывает серьезную тревогу и настойчивый вопрос: кому это выгодно? [...] Подозреваю, что раздуваемый пожар взаимной ненависти весьма выгоден тем королям теневого бизнеса, которые наживаются на рабском труде мигрантов и потому кровно заинтересованы, чтобы нелегалы оставались в нелегалах. ...Такое множество приезжих, пребывающих в тени, является угрозой национальной безопасности страны и, думаю, ни один здравомыслящий человек не станет возражать, что борьба с нелегальной миграцией – дело первостепенной

государственной важности.(Rossiiskaia gazeta, 3.10.2006)

'Who is there, in the shade?

[...] the speed and the extent of the new 'kondopogas' spreading across the country creates a serious anxiety and a pressing question: who profits from it? [...] I suspect that the fire of the mutual hatred is profitable for those kings of the shade business who live off the slave work of migrants and who therefore have a vested interest in that the illegal migrants remain illegal.[...] Such a large number of migrants remaining in the shade is a threat to the national security of the country and, I think, no sensible person would object that a battle against illegal migration is a matter of paramount state importance. Кто там, в тени?'

Hence, migrants are divided into 'bad' and those with whom the readers are intended to sympathise. The anonymous criminal employers are characterized through the negative evaluation of their action which is inscribed in the agentive verb *наживаются* 'to live off' and through the metaphor of darkness *короли теневого бизнеса* 'kings of shadow business'. The latter, the migrants, are represented through a neutralizing strategy, i.e. through the qualification of their work as '*рабском труде*' 'slave work'. Although migrants are not mentioned as related to the 'shadow business', the assumption is that they are a part of this business, and therefore they are illegal, which is inscribed in the representation *нелегалы* 'the illegals'. Despite the sympathy that the author attempts to develop with the readers in the beginning of the article, she then switches to the strategy of negativization of migrants, representing them as a threat to national security: *угроза национальной безопасности страны*. A typical strategy of positioning readers along these lines is the evocation of common sense: *ни один здравомыслящий человек не станет возражать* 'no-one with common sense will disagree'. This automatically negativizes the neutralization attempt made at the beginning of the article revealing the true attitude of the author of the text.

The conceptual origin of this metaphor can be traced back to the following scenarios construed through a double blend consisting of three input spaces. In the input space A1 a person is standing in the dark. It is difficult to distinguish his/her contours and to grasp what this person is doing. In the input space A2, the same person who is performing illegal

activities trying to conceal his/her identity and wrongdoings if caught at the scene of crime. In the input space A3, there is a migrant present in the economic market performing criminal activities and trying to conceal them from the authorities. The darkness and the shade are connected through the relationship of similarity, i.e. the conceptual blend can be regarded as a metonymic blend. The metonymic relation is created through emphasising the different intensity of light. The metonymic tightening occurs in the generic space. The generic space contains the abstract relationships of identity and place, the image schema based on the field of vision. In addition, background knowledge frames are recruited that contain information and beliefs about darkness, i.e. fears that darkness conceals identities, and criminal activities and various associations and beliefs about migrants. The meaning that can emerge contains the projection of darkness and the intention to conceal his/her identity or actions by the person who is standing in the dark, which is shown in Figure 5.3:

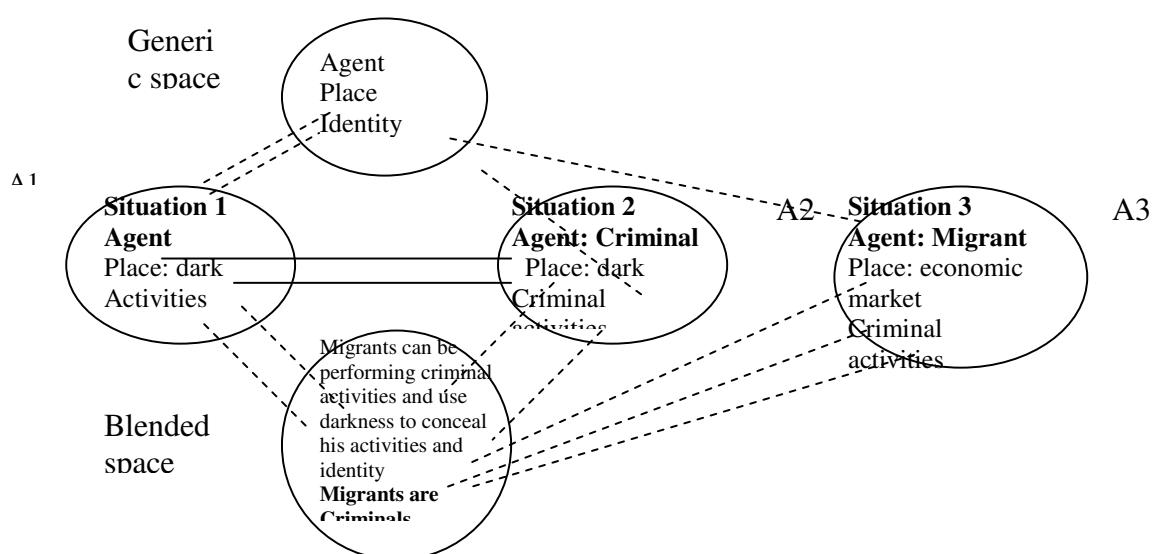


Figure 5.3. Conceptual scenario based on metaphoric blend “Migrants are Criminals in the Dark”

The following example confirms the suggested scenarios:

- 5.32) В свою очередь, руководство Федеральной миграционной службы утверждает, что ежегодно мигранты из "братских" республик вывозят наличными более 10 млрд. долларов

"втемную".(Rossiiskaia gazeta, 5.10.2006)

'In their turn, the management of the Federal Migratin Service state that every year migrants from 'brotherly' republics take abroad about 10bln dollars in cash 'in the dark'.

In Example (5.32), the associated criminal activities of the migrants from the former Soviet republics include the transfer of the non-taxed capital across the borders of the Russian Federation. The emergent discourse metaphor Criminality Is in the Dark is presented linguistically via the adverb "втемную" 'on the dark'. The non-literal interpretation of criminality of the active agents мигранты 'migrants' is suggested through the quotation marks.

Examples (5.26)-(5.32) illustrate how the discourse metaphor MIGRANTS ARE CRIMINALS IN THE DARK is created on the basis of the entrenched pattern referring to the darkness. The resulting blend can be elaborated in a different way, e.g. through the semantic relation of antonymy:

(5.33) Мигрант на свету

[...] Или гастарбайтеры, к которым сейчас приковано такое внимание, снова просто уйдут в тень? Рассказывает руководитель Федеральной миграционной службы по городу Москве Федор КАРПОВЕЦ... – Прежде всего - отношение к гастарбайтеру. Для него город пытается создать нормальные условия, чтобы не приходилось прятаться по подвалам. (Rossiiskaia gazeta, 27.03.2007)

'Migrant in the light

[...] will the guest workers who now attract so much attention will again go into the shade? An interview has been given by Fyodor KARPOVETS, Head of Moscow Department of Federal Migration Service. [...] - First of all, it is [our] attitude to the gastarbeiter. The city is trying to create normal conditions so they do not need to hide in the basements.'

Example (5.33) is an extract from an interview in which the journalist evokes the discourse metaphor of dark and light already in the title. The preface to the interview uses the conventional discourse metaphor MIGRANTS ARE CRIMINALS IN THE DARK which is linguistically expressed through the metaphoric expression уйдут в тень 'will go into the

shade'. The rhetorical questions asked by the author of the text in the preface find their answers in the interview. The answers are suggesting that the novel blend created by the journalist is going to be sustained due to the new migration policies that are meant to reduce the bureaucratic procedures to the point that migrants will not be criminal. Thus, the journalist skilfully reinterprets the literal phrase *прятаться по подвалам* 'hide in the basements', through which the interviewee characterizes migrants, into the metaphorical blend *уйдут в тень* 'go into the shade' both of which are based on the domain of darkness.

Through the above example we see that the CBT allows for the further elaboration of the meanings constructed in the blend. The conceptually opposite semantic source domain of LIGHT is evoked to illustrate legality and honesty in Example (5.33). This is a novel short-lived semantic construction which is not a part of the established metaphoric repertoire. Again, the elaboration is based on the entrenched metaphoric blend described above. In one input scenario we see migrants performing criminal activities in the dark trying to conceal his/her identity. In another input scenario we see this person being exposed to the light and everyone can see what he/she is doing. The shade and the light are mapped onto each other as antonyms belonging to the same semantic field. In the blend, the identity of this person is the same, and the emergent meaning of legality is created through the projection of light and exposure.

The above analysis demonstrates that there is a huge potential for the creation of such multiple chains of metaphoric blends and thus confirms the creative potential of the language. Novel meanings constructed in discourse, such as *в тени* 'in the shade', can be conventionalized and the blends thus represent a basis for the derivation of other meanings. Alternatively, some metaphoric constructions, such as *Мигрант на свету* 'migrant in the light' can be created on-line. It may be short-lived and reserved for a specific communicative situation created in Example (5.33) or it can be elaborated and used in the future for similar situations representing migrants as controllable, visible and therefore not dangerous.

In conclusion, it can be said that the representation of migrants through the metaphor of shade/ shadow augments the negative attitude

expressed explicitly or can evoke negative feelings through the association of darkness and criminality. All of the DARKNESS metaphors construct negative representations, and even the LIGHT metaphor works on the basis of the presupposition that migrants are dangerous at present, and the idea behind the new policy is to eliminate this danger by exposing migrants through the allegedly simplified process of registration.

5.4.3. HOUSE metaphors

The discourse metaphor MIGRATION IS CURRENT has a deeper implication for migration discourse as it can be regarded as a part of a conceptual topological structure which describes the current societal organization in contemporary Russia. This section discusses another part of such larger conceptual topological structure, namely the discourse metaphor NATION-STATE IS HOUSE. This metaphor is the second dominant metaphor in my corpus and it appears consistently in the characterization of OTHER discourse participants. It is more commonly associated with the liberal moderate faction Наш дом – Россия 'Our house is Russia' which convened in the second Duma from 1995 until 1999.

The understanding of the concept of house is culture-specific and the details may vary with consequences for inferential structure in metaphorical expressions (Chilton (1996: 66), but its presumed cross-cultural central concept is a three-dimensional container for habitation by people. Thus, HOUSE metaphors are construed on the basis of the more foundational conceptual CONTAINER metaphor that are derived from the image schema of containment (Lakoff 1987, Johnson 1987, Chilton 1996:50-55, Santa-Ana 2002: 261-265).

The conceptual metaphor HOUSE IS CONTAINER is a more or less stable conceptual structure and it appears often when discussing immigration, international relations, defence and security (Chilton 1996, Charteris-Black 2004) and it appears often in Russian political contexts (cf. Chilton and Ilyin 1993, Chudinov 2001). Such metaphors orient to an inner and outer space, they include centre and periphery where the centre can be thought of as the deictic centre (Chilton 2004, Hart 2008). The image

schema of the container to conceptualize the country is thus a conventional feature of discourse on immigration. It reflects and reinforces an underlying conceptual metaphor. As Charteris-Black states, “the existence of a container implies both an inside and an outside and therefore in relation to political discourse requires both the “us” and the “them” (Charteris-Black 2006: 577).

Earlier in this chapter, it was demonstrated how Moscow is treated in terms of a container. Examples (5.19) - (5.22) represent Moscow as a container which can be filled up by the incoming fluid carrying migrants. Examples (5.13) and (5.15) treat the Russian Federation as a container that can be penetrated by the incoming migration currents. The conceptual blend representing the relations between container and the city and between container and the nation-state is presented in Figure 5.4⁵⁰:

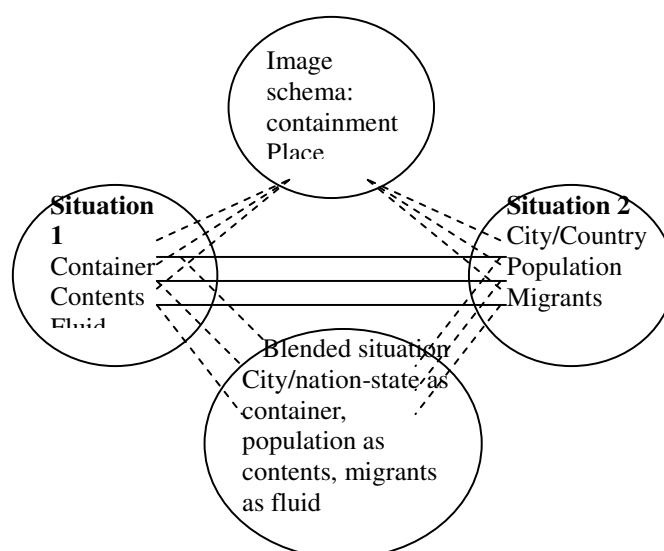


Figure 5.4. Conceptual scenario based on metaphoric blend CITY/COUNTRY IS CONTAINER

Geographical regions, nations and supra-nations can also act as containers for individuals. Geographical spaces are represented as spaces for nations whereas other outside spaces contain other nations. Security discourse is generally based on the image of these nation-states containers penetrated by outside nations (Chilton and Ilyin 1993, Chilton 1996, Ryazanova-Clarke

⁵⁰ The idea for conceptual blend of COUNTRY AS CONTAINER is adopted from Hart (2008).

2008). The conceptual basis for such metaphors is formed by the general conceptual metaphors ABSTRACT COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS and POLITICAL STRUCTURES ARE BUILDINGS (cf. Koevecses 2000)

The following elements can be identified for the conceptual domain HOUSE in the Russian context on the basis of the metaphors analyzed in my corpus:

Basic schema	Single container
Structural elements of the HOUSE frame	Structures: Locks, doors, gates, window, roof , flat, block of flats, yard Agents: SELF-OTHER discourse participants (hosts, guests, neighbours)
Additional scripts	Mode of habitation (with/without registration) Household activities Shelter and security Visiting and hospitality

Table 5.2. Elements of the concept HOUSE (adapted from Chilton 1996:267, also see Chudinov 2001)

It is significant that depending on the primacy of political goals for a specific historical period and for specific governments, different elements of the HOUSE frame are accentuated. For instance, Chudinov (2001) notes that whereas in the late 1980s the most popular HOUSE metaphors concerned the process of building and restructuring, the agents, i.e. discourse participants, and interpersonal relations started being emphasised from the second half of the 1990s.

Similar structural elements are applied for the construction of the concept of NATION-STATE. The following cross-domain correspondences between the domains of NATION-STATE and HOUSE have been found in the corpus analyzed:

Nation-state	House	Examples
<u>Structures</u>		
borders	locks	Хотите <u>запереться на засовы</u> ?
borders	gates	Do you want to stay behind the locks?

entry point	window	<u>открыть ворота</u> для трудовой миграции <u>настежь</u> to open the gates wide for the working migration <u>«Окно»</u> для мигрантов a “window” for migrants
territory of the country	flat	опасениях, что <u>гости разнесут нашу квартиру</u> <u>concerns that the guests destroy our flat</u>
territory of the country	block of flats	считающих Россию <u>домом всех живущих в ней народов</u> considering Russia as a home of all the peoples living here
territory of the country	yard	<u>выдворить</u> всех нелегальных трудовых мигрантов to deport (lit. to through out of the yard) all illegal working migrants
<u>Agents</u> <u>SELF</u> Russian population/ government	hosts	<u>Придут друзья или родственники, а вы сидите тут взаперти, не пускаете никого</u> [your] Friends or relatives arrive, and you sit here behind the closed doors and you do not let anybody in.
OTHER migrants other nations	guests	Кто станет <u>желанным гостем</u> в нашем государстве? Who will be a desired guest in our state?
	neighbours	за три месяца к <u>ближайшим соседям</u> перевели \$1,16 млрд for the last three months \$1.16 billion have been transferred to our nearest neighbours
<u>Mode of habitation</u> Illegal/non-determined status	to live without registration/ without moral right	кто уже приехал в Россию и <u>живёт на птичьих правах</u> Those who already came to Russia and who live on bird's rights/ live in unstable situation'
<u>Activities</u> to take over managerial functions to introduce policies in order to solve social/ political problems	to supervise the household; to keep in order; to clean	азербайджанцы <u>хозяйничают</u> на 60 рынках The Azerbaijani <u>rule around</u> at 60 markets <u>чтобы начать новую жизнь в доме, нужно сделать хотя бы элементарную уборку</u> <u>in order to start a new life in the house it is necessary to do a basic cleaning of the house</u>

Table 5.3. Cross-domain correspondences between the domains NATION-STATE and HOUSE

The examples in the table confirm that parts of the HOUSE frame can metonymically stand for the whole frame, similarly to how the parts of the CURRENT frame, such as waves or particles, stand metonymically for the whole frame. The table also demonstrates that correspondences can be found between structures, agents, mode of habitation and activities in the concepts of NATION and HOUSE. It appears that specifically the feelings about the house and associations with the house are transferred into the blended space to create the same feelings and associations towards NATION-STATE in the resulting emergent meaning.

Consider the following examples containing references to house structures:

- 5.34) – Хотите запереться на засовы? – вопрошал он(депутат Госдумы Константин Затулин) у Белова, – тогда к вам никто зайти не сможет! Придут друзья или родственники, а вы сидите тут взаперти, не пускаете никого. Они обидятся и уйдут! (Vecherniaia Moskva, 18.09.2006)

'Do you want to lock the doors/ stay behind the locks?' He (Duma's deputy Konstantin Zatulin) questioned Belov. 'Then nobody will be able to come to your place. [your] Friends or relatives will come to see you, and you are sitting here with your doors locked and you do not let anybody in. They will feel offended and leave!'

- 5.35) “Окно” для мигрантов (Tverskaia, 13, 16.01.2007)
'A «window» for migrants'

- 5.36) Но что произойдет, если открыть ворота для трудовой миграции настежь? Расчеты показывают, что, во-первых, далеко не все мигранты осядут в России навсегда [...]. (Vlast', 9.04.2007)

'But what is going to happen if the gates will be opened wide for the working migration? The calculations show that, first of all, not all migrants will settle in Russia forever [..]'

Example (5.34) describes the discussion of the offer by Aleksandr Belov, the leader of the DPNI, to prevent migrants from entering the Russian Federation. His position is recontextualized and responded to through the metaphorical situation based on the conceptual metaphor NATION-STATE IS HOUSE. In this situation the action of closing the country's borders is

compared to the action of locking the house *запереться на засовы* 'to lock the doors'. It applies the creation of the feelings associated with security and shelter offered by the inhabitants of the house. However, the effect of such action is described as losing friends or upsetting relatives who would come as visitors, i.e. losing positive advantages of migration. In response to Belov, migrants are here described as friends and relatives bringing positive effects to the country.

Thus, the emotional attitudes are transferred from the HOUSE input space to the blend in order to evaluate effects of the actions as either positive or negative. The conceptual blend for this specific metaphorical situation is presented in Figure 5.5:

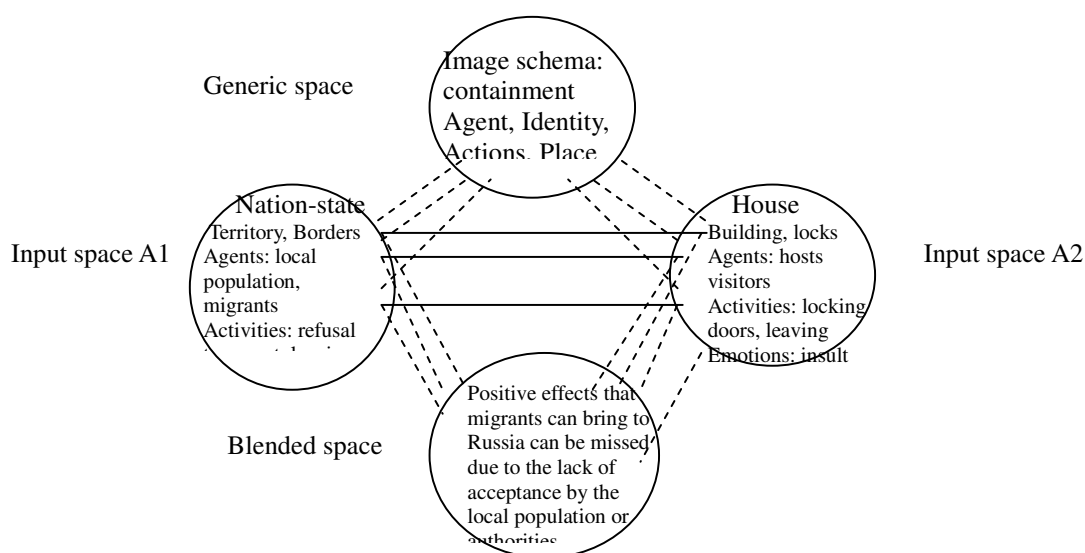


Figure 5.5. Metaphoric blend for Example (5.34)

Example (5.35) uses the window *Окно* as a structural element of the HOUSE space. This image is used both literally and metaphorically in the text entitled «Окно» для мигрантов 'Window' for the migrants'. The literal use implies a reference to the single registration system for migrants *система одного окна* 'the system of one window', which was introduced from January 2007, and according to which the registration application and the supporting documents were supposed to be submitted at one counter. The metaphorical use may suggest the possibility of a self-motivated responsible action by a migrant in the strict system of control and

regulation, which is compared to an opening in the wall emitting light in a dark space. However, if the image of the window is conceived as a structural element of NATION-STATE AS HOUSE conceptual metaphor then the migrants are compared to criminals who use an open window to access a locked house. The emergent meaning of the conceptual blend that can be constructed for such a metaphorical situation is therefore ambiguous. Example (5.36) uses the image of the gate as a structural element of the HOUSE space in order to represent borders in the metaphoric phrase открыть ворота для трудовой миграции настежь 'to open wide the gates for working migration'. In this situation, some migrants are described through the verb осесть 'to settle, to sit down'. The verb may remind us of objects carried by a current and entering the yard through an open gate compared to the open borders of a nation-state. The gate is an important structural element that indicates that the borders of the Russian concept of house are outside the traditional image of container. The effects of this 'gate-opening' are described as positive: это единственный шанс остановить в обозримом будущем сокращение численности населения 'this is the only chance to stop the decrease of the population in Russia in the foreseeable future.' Thus, a positive representation of migrants is constructed.

In the space of the Russian house, the yard is included as a salient structure. A large number of metaphors containing reference to the yard is constructed through the verb выдворить lit. 'to throw out of the yard' or the noun выдворение 'throwing out of the yard'. Consider the following examples:

- 5.37) - Китайцы тоже выдворяются ... На выдворение определенные деньги закладываются. Какая-то часть нелегальных мигрантов выдворяется за их собственный счет. (Rossiiskaia gazeta, 24.10.2006)

'The Chinese are also deported (here and elsewhere: lit. thrown out of the yard) [...] A certain amount of money is set aside for the deportation. One part of illegal migrants is deported at their own expense.'

- 5.38) За несоблюдение новых правил миграционного учета

предусмотрена административная ответственность в виде штрафа с выдворением за пределы страны либо без такового. (Tverskaia, 13, 16.01.2007)

'An administrative responsibility for the breaking of the new migration registration rules envisages a fine and a deportation beyond the borders of the country or without the deportation.'

- 5.39) Руководителям столичных рынков было дано поручение [...] выдворить всех нелегальных трудовых мигрантов со своей территории (Moskovskaia pravda, 30.01.2007)

Directors of all Moscow markets have been given the task [...] to deport all illegal migrants from their territory within the shortest possible period of time.

The verb *выдворить* 'to deport' and the noun *выдворение* 'the deportation' are used in migration discourse consistently to talk about the deportation of the migrants for their illegal status. All examples involving these lexical units are negative⁵¹. Both the noun and the verb represent a dead metaphor the semantics of which is usually backgrounded. It is only in the context of migration discourse that the meaning of yard as an element of the HOUSE frame becomes actualized. In Example (5.37), the head of the Federal Migration Service Konstantin Romodanovskiy is represented as a part of the policy toward migration for which certain financial resources have been allocated. Example (5.38) mentions the borders of the NATION-STATE AS HOUSE as the borders of the container *за пределы страны* 'beyond the country's borders'. In example (5.39), the container metaphor is used to refer to the markets, which metonymically represent the nation state as the territory of migrant activities, i.e. the markets themselves can be conceptualised as buildings with the adjacent territory *двор* 'yard' which has to be vacated from the migrants with no legal status.

The HOUSE frame does not necessarily need to be used as part of COUNTRY AS HOUSE metaphor in migration discourse. We saw in Example (5.35) that a window metaphor may not only be used to present migrants entering the house through the window, but it can be employed to portray the new legislation on migration in terms of light. In this case the

⁵¹ The analysis of the 39 usages from the Russian National Corpus suggests that the verb *выдворить* shows only negative connotations.

image of the window conveys the alleviation and positive feelings about the light entering the dark space of corruption and desperation. Yet another structural element of the HOUSE frame can be represented by a corner metaphor in the following example:

5.40) Загнали людей (имеются в виду жители стран бывшего СНГ. – прим. О.С.) в угол! А почему бы городу не сделать так, чтобы все они легально и быстро смогли получить разрешение на работу, если готовы платить тут налоги? (Moskovskaia pravda, 6.04.2007)

People (citizens of the former CIS countries – O.S.) have been driven into the corner! Why would the city not allow them to obtain their working permits legally and promptly if they are ready to pay taxes?

The idiom Загнали людей в угол 'People have been driven into a corner' refers here to a desperate, hopeless situation in which the migrants are claimed to have found themselves following the introduction of the law prohibiting non-Russian citizens to trade in the markets. In this case, a neutralization strategy is employed to represent their desperate situation. In this case the corner угол 'corner' as a structure of the house is compared to the space bounded by two walls and restricted by somebody from the third side. The inference that arises from such a representation is that of force which is applied by the agents vested with authority towards those who were driven into this desperate situation, i.e. the migrants. The conceptual blend resulting from the mapping of the described situation to the space of HOUSE does not contain any reference to the discourse metaphor NATION-STATE AS HOUSE. Hence, the application of the concept HOUSE is much wider than just the construction of a NATION-STATE AS HOUSE metaphor. It appears in migration discourse to convey certain feelings towards the object of discourse, such as alleviation and hope in Example (5.35) or anger, despair and reproach in Example (5.40). Chilton (2004: 117) claims that the container schema is emotionally linked, especially when it is used for the conceptualization of a country. Security in the country is linked to the feeling of safety and lack of security in migration discourse evokes fears from external threats (Charteris-Black

2006:576). Thus, the function of such metaphors is evaluative-emotional in migration discourse.

Another salient element of the HOUSE domain is the agent. Agents are represented by hosts, guests and neighbours. Hosts can be cross-mapped to SELF discourse participants, e.g. the Russian population, and guests and neighbours to OTHER discourse participants, i.e. migrants, non-Russians etc. 14 out of 47 HOUSE examples contain characterizations for SELF-OTHER discourse participants in terms of hosts, guests and neighbours. Consider the following examples:

- 5.41) Основной поток был направлен в страны СНГ: за три месяца к ближайшим соседям перевели \$1,16 млрд... Лидерами по "приему средств от населения" стали Узбекистан (\$210 млн), Украина (\$209 млн) и Таджикистан (\$187 млн). (Biznes, 30.08.2006)

'The major current has been directed to CIS countries: for three months, the nearest neighbours have been transferred \$1,16 bln [...] Leaders in "receiving assets from the population" are Uzbekistan (\$210mln), Ukraine (\$209mln) and Tajikistan (\$187).'

- 5.42) Кто станет желанным гостем в нашем государстве? (Argumenty i fakty, 22.11.2006)

'Who will be a desired guest in our state?'

- 5.43) [...] отъезд гостей из солнечных республик лишит россиян овощей и фруктов. (Nezavisimaia gazeta, 29.01.2007)

'...the departure of the guests from sunny republics will deprive the Russian citizens of vegetables and fruit.'

- 5.44) Гости из бывших соцреспублик у нас надолго. (Komsomol'skaia pravda, 28.03.2007)

'Guests from former Soviet republics have arrived to stay for a long time.'

The CIS countries in Example (5.41) are portrayed as ближайшие соседи 'close neighbours', i.e. the countries that then were close not only geographically, but also politically, such as Uzbekistan, Ukraine and Tajikistan. The role of a guest emphasises the temporary status on the territory of the host. Guests into the country can be wanted or unwanted, i.e. those migrants who comply with the regulations and quotas set out by the

Federal Migration Service are wanted guests as желанный гость 'a desired guest' in Example (5.42). Guests and neighbours can be used to refer to one and the same discourse participants. Example (5.44) shows that the category of guests includes people from the former Soviet republics, who in migration discourse correspond to the CIS citizens portrayed as neighbours in Example (5.41).

Guests have to be treated with special care, as Example (5.45) demonstrates:

5.45) В руководстве Федеральной миграционной службы созрела идея, как обустроить иностранных гостей. (Nezavisimaia gazeta, 17.11.2006)

'An idea has matured in the management of the Federal Migration Service how to make the life of foreign guests comfortable.'

The metaphoric expression обустроить иностранных гостей 'to accommodate international guests' presents the governmental policies in a positive way portraying the authorities as caring and welcoming hosts who take great care in attending to their guests properly. Thus the visiting and hospitality script containing positive emotions is activated in the HOUSE frame which is cross-mapped onto the NATION-STATE frame. The emergent meaning contains an allusion to the positive atmosphere created between the authorities and migrants due to the caring attitude of the former.

It would, however, be wrong to assume that visitors are always associated with care and hospitality on the part of the host nation. An important culture-specific element in the Russian HOUSE frame has to do with the registration that confirms the legal status of the OTHER discourse participants in migration discourse. Example (5.46) alludes to the lack of registration in the following way:

5.46) Наконец, остаётся неясным, что делать с теми, кто уже приехал в Россию и живёт на птичьих правах. (Argumenty i fakty, 22.11.06)

'Finally, it remains unclear what to do with those who have already arrived in Russia and who live on bird's rights/ in an unstable

position.'

The idiom жить на птичьих правах lit. 'to live on bird's rights/ to live in an unstable situation' is a metaphoric representation of the mode of residence by someone who has no right (legal or customary) of abode on the territory in question. It can thus be regarded as a component part of a HOUSE frame adapted to the Soviet and post-Soviet context. It is used to evoke negative associations about those who have entered the country and stay here without the legal status determined by the registration, i.e. the meaning that emerges in the blend implies illegality and reference to OTHER discourse participants as illegal migrants. The resulting conceptual blend is a multiple blend that is constructed by means of the third output space containing the BIRD frame. The mapping is constructed between the spaces of BIRD, HOUSE and NATION-STATE emphasising the inherent lack of right of abode on the part of the migrants on the territory of the Russian Federation.

The HOUSE frame also assumes various household activities as structural elements. Example (47) represents one such activity associated with overlooking the household and being responsible for housekeeping:

(5.47) Здесь (в Петербурге и Ленинградской области) азербайджанцы хозяйничают на 60 рынках, армяне — на 16, грузины — на 2 рынках. (Rossiiskaia gazeta, 6.02.2007)

'Here (in Petersburg and the Leningrad region), the Azerbaijani rule over 60 markets, the Armenians – 16 markets and the Georgians – 2 markets.'

The verb хозяйничают 'rule over' is used to present the supervision by various ethnic groups over markets. These ethnic groups are described as taking over the sphere of activities which are normally performed by the hosts in the HOUSE frame. The resulted situation is presented as abnormal due to the incongruity between the OTHER representation as guests on one hand and taking over the activities associated with hosts on the other hand.

In Example (48), the governmental activities are metaphorically compared to household activities that are detrimental to the house:

5.48) Просто «открыть» страну – приезжайте кто хотите и зачем хотите, – это не конкуренция, а попытка согреться путем поджога собственного дома. Получить слишком много мигрантов, [...], верный путь создать в стране межэтнические напряжения, которые известно чем заканчиваются. Это и есть настоящий поджог (Nezavisimaia gazeta, 27.02.2007)

'Just to open the country – come whoever want to and whatever they want for – it is not a competition, but an attempt to warm up by setting your own house on fire. To receive many migrants, [...], is the right way to create interethnic tensions in the country, and the result is well known. This is what can be considered a real arson.'

The above example represents a multiple conceptual blend which uses the image schema of container in two ways. The first metaphorical blend represents the country conceptualized in terms of the house-container that can be opened to allow migrants to enter the country. The second blend, which is an elaboration of the first blend, compares the action of opening the borders to the action of setting the house on fire. The emergent meaning that appears in the resulting blend is constructed on the basis of the cause-effect relation. The arising inference suggests that the effect of the action of setting the house on fire is as destructive as opening the borders to the migrants who may create interethnic tensions in the country. The associated feelings, which the FIRE frame evokes, are of danger, threat and fear. All of them are intentionally recruited into the blend which constructs a novel discourse metaphor MIGRATION IS FIRE.

In Example (5.49), “The policy on the resettlement of compatriots” is discussed in the following way:

5.49) Кажется мне, что соотечественники сами по себе не очень-то здесь и нужны. Просто Россия за наш счет хочет заткнуть дыры в своем хозяйстве, вот и давит на патриотические чувства. (Moskovskie novosti, 6.04.2007)

Compatriots by themselves are not really needed here. Russia is simply trying to stuff holes in their household and this is why it is pressing on patriotic feelings.

The government is metonymically represented through the country Россия 'Russia' which is accused of introducing the policy of resettlement with the aim of improving economically failing regions by giving false promises to those who were willing to participate in this programme. In the metaphoric blend the government is compared to an ineffective owner of a house who attempts to improve the situation in the household by doing minor repairs. The property of ineffectiveness is projected into the blend and the emergent meaning portrays the government as unproductive and irresponsible.

Another activity that has to do with the household and which is reflected in migration discourse is cleaning, as presented in Example (5.50):

5.50) Такие "амнистии" (легализация мигрантов упрощенным способом) проводят, как известно, все цивилизованные страны перед тем, как изменять законодательство. Понятно же, что для того, чтобы начать новую жизнь в доме, нужно сделать хотя бы элементарную уборку. (Rossiiskaia gazeta, 26.02.2007)

'Such "amnesties" (a simplified legalization of migrants) are carried out, as it is well known, in all civilized countries before changing the legislation. It is clear that in order to start a new life in the house, you have to at least make a basic clean-up.'

In Example (5.50) the preparatory cleaning activities in the house before moving in are compared to the preparatory legislative activities by the government who introduced the amnesty for illegal migrants as an initial stage of major reforms in the sphere of migration. The following cross-mappings can be established between the two situations: government – home owner, Russia – house, implementation of the new law – cleaning, getting rid of illegal migrants – getting rid of unwanted items. The emergent meaning portrays migrants as unwanted items, i.e. they are depersonalized and rejected.

The conceptualization of the stereotypical Russian house gave way to the image of a block of flats in Example (5.50). In these blocks of flats, flats still represent the original containers with boundaries that restrict the inhabitants from entering other families' personal spaces. The importance of a mindful and considerate co-existence in such blocks of flats is emphasised

in Example (5.51). However, when the flats turn into communal accommodation, the security feeling gives way to fears:

5.51) Люди благожелательно относятся друг другу, когда каждый живет в отдельной благоустроенной квартире. Когда же квартира превращается в коммуналку, то отношения сразу портятся. [...] Здесь дело вовсе не в чванстве, а в опасениях, что гости разнесут нашу квартиру. (Komsomol'skaia pravda, 15.03.2007)

'People behave towards each other in a friendly way if everyone lives in a separate flat with all modern conditions. If a flat turns into a communal flat, the relationships immediately deteriorate.[...] This is not arrogance, but concerns that guests will destroy our flat.'

Example (5.51) appears in the context where the recollection of the Soviet times brings out a HOUSE metaphor. The Soviet republics are conceptualized as отдельная благоустроенная квартира 'separate flat with all mod cons'. The contemporary migration process is conceptualized as the transformation of a separate flat into a communal flat. According to Chudinov (2001), the metaphor of a communal flat is often used in Russian political discourse to represent conflicts and it always carries pejorative connotations.

Example (5.51) confirms that the container image can be used to conceptualize the flat which can be penetrated by outsiders. The elements of the input situation A1 are nation-state, local population, migrants and their activities and locals-migrants relationships. These elements are connected to the input space A2 where the nation state is compared to the house through the container image schema, and the local population is compared to the owners of the flat to rent rooms to lodgers, i.e. the migrants. The flat-owners express fears towards guests without any fear-triggering activities on the part of the guests. Fears and other negative feelings are projected into the blend which contains the emergent meaning “Migrants are Potentially Dangerous”. The topos of danger which is constituted by the metaphorical situation in Example (5.51) can be characterized as follows: “if migrants are entering the country, the local population will soon not be able to cope with the situation and become hostile to these migrants” (Wodak 2001: 75).

OTHER discourse participants can be discriminated against by denying or negatively presenting their place in the house through their inclusion into potentially socially damaging groups as in Example (5.52):

5.52) Численность респондентов, считающих Россию домом всех живущих в ней народов, снизилась за 2 года на 10% и составила 44% опрошенных[...]А с установкой "Россия - общий дом всех народов" согласны всего 29% богатых против 46% бедных. (Izvestia, 15.01. 2007)

'The number of the respondents considering Russia as the home of all people living in it has decreased by 10% over 2 years and it now comprises 44% of the respondents. And the conception 'Russia is a common house of all people!' Is shared by only 29% of the rich versus 46% of the poor.'

The origin of the discourse metaphor Россия - общий дом всех народов 'Russia is the common house of all peoples' can be attributed to the Soviet discourse when the representation of the Soviet Union as a house of all people was a common cliché. The schematic knowledge of the HOUSE frame contains allusions to the freedom of movement, feeling at ease, legal right of abode, positive attitudes towards co-habitants, security and stability - these are the properties of the HOUSE frame which are constitutive of the emergent meaning in the conceptual blend for the discourse metaphor Россия - общий дом всех народов. The reported OTHER representations in Example (5.52) destroy the common Soviet stereotype by portraying migrants from the Caucasus and Middle Asia as socially unacceptable intruders, thus undermining the basic feelings of security and feeling at ease in the family home. However, as the following examples demonstrate, there is still a tendency to employ the discourse metaphor NATION AS FAMILY which originates in the Soviet discourse and classifies the SELF and OTHER discourse participants as members of one family.

5.4.4. FAMILY metaphors

Johnson (1987) suggests that the NATION AS FAMILY metaphor exists as part of our standard conceptual repertoire. In his analysis of patriotic

speeches, he came to the conclusion that kinship metaphors can be used to stir patriotic sentiment. Lauenstein and Wurfel (2009) in their recent study challenge this “positive effect” view and propose that the family language, contexts of threat and national identity are closely related. A similar effect is noticeable in the analysis of the NATION IS FAMILY metaphor in migration discourse.

The culture-specific discourse metaphor NATION IS FAMILY in the corpus analyzed is recontextualized from the Soviet discourse where it was used to stir patriotic feelings and it is still used with a similar purpose. The nations of the former Soviet Union tended to be represented as brothers in relation to the motherland which used to be conceptualized as the mother of the nations Родина-мать 'Motherland' (Sandomirskaia 2001). In migration discourse, however, the image of the mother never appears. Nor is the figure of the father, which traditionally portrays the government or the head of the paternalistic government (cf. Lakoff 2002), present in migration discourse. The SELF and OTHER are conceptualized in relation to each other as brothers, mostly with the reference to the past as in Examples (5.53)-(5.55):

- 5.53) Не надо бояться, если угодно, возвращения концепции "старшего брата". Почему она должна кого-то обижать? Старший брат - это тот, кто защищает, опекает. (Moskovskie novosti, 6.10.2006)

'There is no need to be afraid of the return of the conception of an “elder brother”. Why does it need to insult anybody? An elder brother is someone who is a defender and a guardian.'

- 5.54) Но зачем так глупо и мелко «наказывать» бывших «братьев навеки» - граждан Грузии? (Moskovskaia pravda, 6.10. 2006)

'But why punish the former “brothers forever” – Georgian citizens - so silly and trivially?'

- 5.55) ... я всегда и всем предлагаю говорить, что наша Родина - Советский Союз. Мы все, в недавнем прошлом братья, вдруг стали мигрантами, а ведь Россия всегда прирастала инородцами (Gazeta, 16.01.2007)

'...I always suggest to everybody that our home country is the Soviet Union. All of us, until recently having been brothers, suddenly have

become migrants, but Russia has always grown because of the people of different tribes.'

Example (5.53) portrays the SELF participants as Старший брат 'elder brother' emphasising the protective, guardian function of a big brother and arguing for the return of the Soviet-type family relations between former Soviet people. In example (5.53), the perceived threat of the return of such a relationship is anticipated and the author attempts to appease the readers by reassuring Не надо бояться 'there is no need to fear' and using the rhetorical question Почему она должна кого-то обижать? 'Why is it meant to offend anybody?' Example (5.54) employs the verb наказывать 'to punish' to represent the unequal relationship between the two “brotherly” nations of the Russians and the Georgians amidst the Russo-Georgian crisis. It is implied that the big brother does not always protect, he has the moral right to discipline the younger brother, and however, it does not need to be done purposelessly. The topos of threat in Example (5.55) emphasises the transient nature of the metaphor NATION IS FAMILY which disintegrated upon the collapse of the Soviet Union, and was replaced by the term мигранты 'migrants' used as a synonym to братья 'brothers'. The assimilating family reference братья 'brothers' is rather incongruously substituted by the OTHER reference инородцами 'people of different tribes/ clans' which reflects a strategy of dissimulation. What appears as incongruence can be in fact a skilful interdiscursive strategy. The term инородцы is recontextualized into Example (5.55) from the Russian imperial discourse. In 1822, the law “Statute concerning the management of the indigenous population” was passed by the government of Alexander I⁵². It referred to the indigenous population of Siberia, and was used in its literal sense of “of a different tribe/ belonging to a different ethnic group.” Thus, the literal meaning of инородцы may well be revived in contemporary migration discourse in its original meaning. However, it is possible that the OTHER reference инородцы in contemporary migration discourse is more

⁵² УСТАВ ОБ УПРАВЛЕНИИ ИНОРОДЦЕВ, «Полное собрание законов Российской империи с 1849 г.» [Statute about the government of the people of different tribes', 'Compiled statutes of the Russian Empire from 1849), V.38, № 29. 120 pp. 394-416 .

closely associated with *инородное тело* 'foreign object/body' in a human's body which has been brought into it with external liquids and which requires expulsion from the body-container, as the allusion in the title of an article Example (5.56) demonstrates:

(5.56) *Инородное дело*

...Надо, чтобы ухари-мигранты не переполняли, а дополняли экономическую систему города. Ни одного лишнего нам не нужно,— заявил мэр. (Kommersant, 7.06.2007)

Foreign matter

It is necessary that the tearaway-migrant sdo not overflow but compliment the economic system of the city. We do not need anybody superfluous, - said Mayor.

Example (5.53) uses the paronym of *инородное тело* 'foreign object/body' in the title of an article representing Moscow government views towards migration rephrasing it as *Инородное дело* 'foreign matter'. The OTHER discourse participants are negativized through the characterization *ухари-мигранты* 'tear-away migrants', recruiting of the image schema of container which can be filled up or contain an unwanted element *инородное тело* 'foreign object/body'. Here, the words of Mayor Luzhkov are very different from those quoted in relation to water metaphors several months before. The negative evaluative expression *ухари-мигранты* is complemented by the image of the overflow of the city-as-container.

The discourse metaphor NATION AS FAMILY can be formulated as a precise mapping between NATION and FAMILY (cf. Lakoff 2002 who also recruits the container schema) and the input space is constructed by the HOUSE frame. The territory of the former USSR is conceptualized in terms of house as a family home. The peoples of the former USSR are represented as brothers who stereotypically share family sentiments among each other. These family-like sentiments are projected into the blend to create the emergent meaning “Peoples from the (former) USSR experience family-like sentiments”:

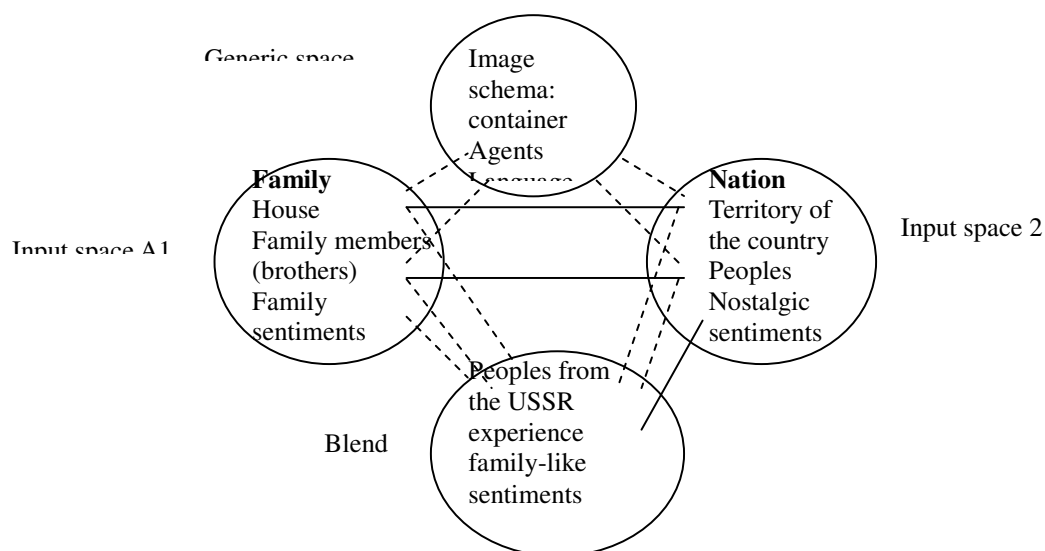


Figure 5.6. Conceptual scenario based on NATION AS FAMILY metaphor in Soviet discourse

The resulting blend is highly emotive as various feelings and emotions are also projected from the input space A2 into the blend, for instance, nostalgic feelings about the stability and security of the Soviet past and positive emotions and stereotypes associated with friendliness and hospitality.

Nevertheless, as Examples (5.53) – (5.55) demonstrate, these stereotypical entrenched meanings of this historical blend are challenged in migration discourse in the wave of rejecting old Soviet values and stereotypes.

More examples show the delegitimization of OTHER through the family metaphor, as in Examples (5.32) and (5.57):

5.57) Практический совет: основной кадровый ресурс к нам едет из бывших братских республик, однако среди них всё чаще попадаются такие, кто по-русски ни бе ни ме. С ними лучше не связываться. (Argumenty I fakty, 1.09.2007)

'A practical advise: major working force arrives from former brotherly republics, however, among them, those who cannot say a single word a Russian, turn up more and more often. It is better not to deal with them at all.'

Example (5.57) contains no traces of the family sentiments. Migrants in Example (5.57) are presented through a dehumanizing metonym *кадровый*

ресурс 'cadre resource'. Some of the migrants are derogatively characterized by reference to their linguistic abilities: по-русски ни бе ни ме 'no Russian at all'. The negative representation involves a characterization of linguistic abilities and expresses annoyance due to the lack of mutual communication means though the Russian language. The emotive response which is reflected in the blend is purely negative. Thus, the discourse metaphor NATION AS FAMILY is employed here to emphasise the disintegrated family and, as a consequence, a difference in the construction of the SELF-OTHER dichotomy.

It can be concluded that in migration discourse the metaphoric blend NATION AS FAMILY appears as a complex conceptual structure with at least three inputs, as presented in Figure 5.7:

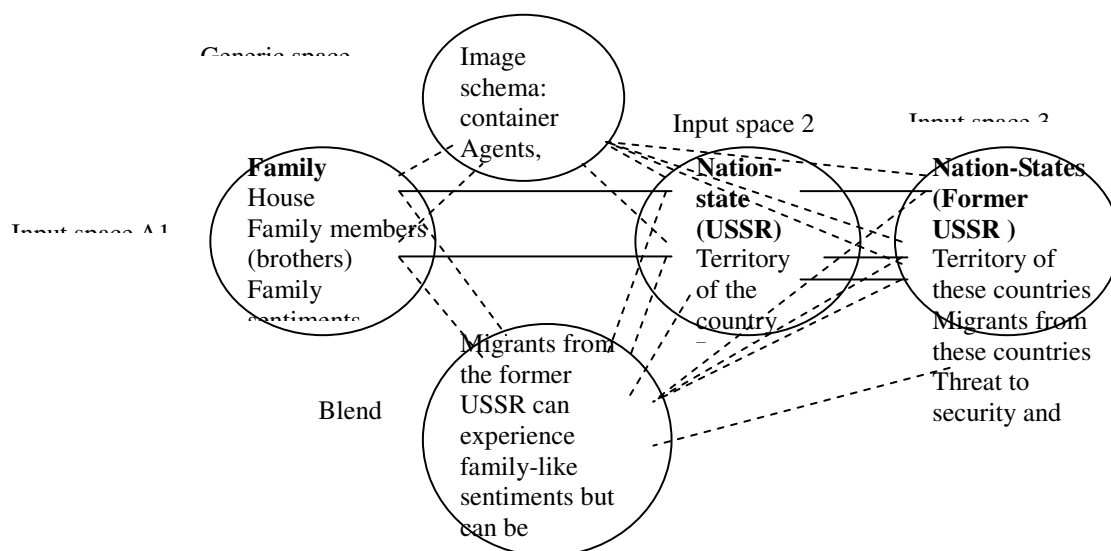


Figure 5.7. Conceptual scenario based on NATION IS FAMILY metaphor in contemporary migration discourse

The metaphoric blend in Figure 5.7 is constructed by fusing the elements from three input spaces, i.e. the FAMILY space, the NATION-STATE (USSR) historic space and the NATION-STATE (former USSR) contemporary space. Depending on the strategy various emotive responses emerge in the metaphoric blend. The strategy of assimilation, as in Example (5.53)-(5.55) recruits family-like sentiments and nostalgic emotions into the blend, Examples (5.56) and (5.57) reflect the strategy of delegitimization which is achieved through the

projecting of the negative, dissociative attitude towards migrants into the metaphoric blend.

5.4.5. CONFLICT/ WAR Metaphors

CONFLICT/ WAR metaphor is a very prolific metaphor in political discourse (cf. Lakoff 1990).

The following metaphorical situation objectifies human beings, in the factual description of the Russia-Georgian conflict in martial terms:

5.58) Если решение российских ведомств [...] восприняли как минометный обстрел, то вчера в дело вступила тяжелая артиллерия. Сначала свой залп произвело орудие главного калибра. Президент Владимир Путин с утра вне плана принял лидеров парламентских фракций (за исключением КПРФ) и заявил: "Никому не советовал бы и впредь разговаривать с Россией языком провокаций и шантажа". Затем настал черед вспомогательной артиллерии: Государственная дума ближе к вечеру приняла специальное заявление "Об антироссийской и антидемократической политике грузинских властей". (Gazeta, 5.10.2006)

'If the decision of the Russian authorities [...] was perceived as a shell fire from the other side of the Big Caucasian Mountains, yesterday a heavy artillery joined in. Firstly, the gun of the main calibre fired. In the morning, President Putin had an unplanned meeting with the leaders of the parliamentary factions (except KPRF) and he declared: 'I would not recommend anybody to speak with Russia in a language of provocations and intimidation'. Then, a secondary gun mount joined in: towards, the evening, the State Duma issued a special statement "On the anti-Russian and anti-democratic politics of the Georgian authorities".'

Example (5.58) discusses the onset of the Russo-Georgian crisis which has an effect on migrants from Georgia. The political conflict is presented as a war between two armies. Specific policies are conceptualized as belligerent military actions. Politicians and governmental institutions metonymically standing for these institutions are the agents of the actions (cf. Chilton 1996), and they are presented as weapons complementing each other in the introduction of the crisis-related policies and statements. The discursive metaphor POLITICAL CONFLICT IS WAR is employed to emphasise the

threat to national security and common democratic values by the Georgian authorities described as антироссийской и антидемократической политике 'anti-Russian and antidemocratic politics'.

The relationship between migrants and Russia as a nation-state are conceptualized as war, in which the OTHER discourse participants are portrayed collectively as an army, as in Examples (5.59) and (5.60)

5.59) Теоретически данное нововведение должно покончить с многотысячной армией нелегалов, которые до сегодняшнего дня просто не имели возможности зарегистрироваться... (Gazeta, 16.01.2007)

'Theoretically, this initiative must end up with a many-thousand-strong army of the illegals who, until today, did not have a chance to register...'

5.60) Если в России действительно, как утверждает Федеральная миграционная служба, 10,2 миллиона нелегалов, значит, легализовалась всего лишь одна двадцатая часть огромной подпольной армии. (Rossiiskaia gazeta, 26.02.2007)

'If there are really, as the Federal Migration Service asserts, 10.2 mln illegals in Russia, then, only one twentieth of the huge underground army has legalized.'

The illegal migrants are presented as a quantifiable mass which poses threats to national security because of their illegal activities or illegal status and, primarily, because of its size. In this army, individual migrants are represented as enemy soldiers. Thus, the property of size and the negative emotions are the basic constitutive elements projected into the metaphoric blend with the emergent meaning "Migrants are a threatening enemy army".

Example (5.61) portrays the implementation of governmental policies towards migrants in the markets as a battle, and the markets as a battlefield:

5.61) В Подмоскowie торговцам-нелегалам объявлен бой. К массовым проверкам рынков властями подключилось движение молодых политических экологов Подмоскowie «Местные». (Rossiiskaia gazeta, 28.11.2006)

'In the Moscow region, the illegal trades men have been declared a battle. The movement of young political environmentalists of the Moscow region "The Locals" have joined the local authorities in the

mass market inspections of the markets.'

In this battle, the SELF discourse participants are presented by the authorities and the political movement Местные, which became known for its extremist anti-immigrant stance. The enemy army is represented by the illegal migrant traders. The use of the Soviet-type militaristic-patriotic cliché объявлен бой 'a battle is declared' emphasises the moral right to declare battle by those who feel threatened. Thus, the metaphoric representation draws on the topos of threat and danger. The self-identification of Местные 'Locals' as political ecologists draws on the conceptual domain of NATURE which is threatened by pollution and human-caused disasters. Thus, the moral values for which Местные 'Locals' are ready to fight are portrayed through the representation of the territory of the country which must be kept clean, free of pollution and polluting objects representing illegal migrants. Thus, a complex metaphorical blend is constructed which fuses elements from three output spaces, which is shown in Figure 5.8:

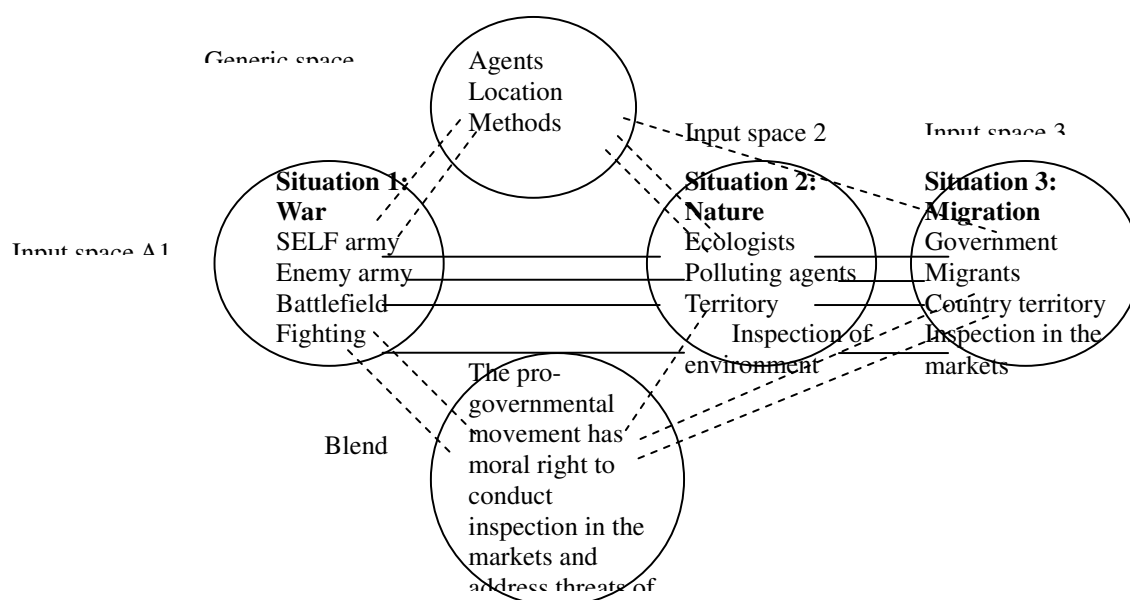


Figure 5.8. Conceptual scenario based on cognitive identity frame *политические экологи* 'political environmentalists'

The three situations that are fused in the metaphoric blend in the

metaphorical situation in Example (5.61) are constructed by the frames WAR, MIGRATION POLITICS and NATURE. Such elements of the three spaces as agents, locations, and activities are cross-mapped. The political ecologists metonymically represent the government via the image of the military who conduct inspection of the markets which is equated to the military activities on the one hand and the ecological inspection on the other hand. Some frame-specific properties are projected into the blended space and contribute to the legitimization of the pro-governmental actors and the justification of such policies and to the delegitimization of the migrants. The WAR projects the property of the moral right of the governmental actor to defend its people from the threats posed by migrants. The MIGRATION POLITICS space presents government as a legal actor which has legal rights to conduct inspections in the markets. The ECOLOGY frame projects the purpose of the ecologists, i.e. to keep the controlled territory clean and free of polluting agent, which are represented by migrants.

The metaphor of cleaning is of strategic importance in Russian migration discourse. Consider the following example:

5.62) Мигранты голоса не имеют, и потому легко сказать: "Я зачищу страну или город от них и от той грязи, которую они разводят". (Vlast', 16.07.2007)

'Migrants do not have a voice and that is why it is easy to say: 'I will cleanse the country or city from them and from the dirt they are making'.'

In Example (5.62), migrants are presented in the quotation as a source of uncleanness in the country and as depersonalized subjects which can be disposed of. The reported utterance in Example (5.62) alludes to the infamous anti-migrant video clip which was distributed by the extreme right party Родина 'Motherland' during the Moscow city government election campaign in November 2005. The action is set in Moscow, to be precise, in one of the Moscow yards. A group of stereotypical migrants, i.e. dark-haired and dark-skinned men, are sitting in a circle and eating a watermelon. An Asian tune is playing in the background. A fair-haired young mother with a pram is going past. A close-up shows wheels of the

pram and watermelons skins under the wheels. One migrant is saying: «Понаехали тут» 'They have arrived in masses', which is a stereotypical cliché phrase uttered by the local population about migrants. Dmitriy Rogozin, the then leader of the Родина party, and General Popov, a high-ranking party member, are standing nearby, and the ground in front of them is covered in watermelon skins. Dmitriy Rogozin addresses one of the migrants: “Подними! Убери за собой!” 'Take it! Clean after yourself!' General Popov is approaching one of the migrants and firmly putting his hand on another migrant's shoulder. He is asking: “Ты русский язык понимаешь?” 'Do you understand Russian?' The film finishes with a Родина logo, i.e. the name of the party written in yellow on a red background, and the slogan “Очистим Москву от мусора!” 'Let us clean Moscow of rubbish!' A voice-over announces: “Очистим наш город!” 'Let us clean Moscow'.

The inferences that arise from perceiving the subject positioning in this video are clear, i.e. the migrants are spreading litter around Moscow, they take on the role of the host population by appropriating such allegedly host-specific utterance as «Понаехали тут» 'They have arrived in masses', they disrespect cultural norms of the host nation and their knowledge of Russian may be too poor for communicating. The possibilities of cross-mapping between migrants and litter have been outlined in the discussion on the discourse metaphor NATION-STATE IS HOUSE. In the HOUSE frame migrants are conceptualized as litter or any unwanted objects which should be removed out of the house. The migrants in the video are always represented as a group, half-turned or turned away from the audience in a move which is supposed to create a physical and psychological distance between the migrants and the target audience, i.e. the local population of the City of Moscow. The combination of verbal and visual in the Родина electoral video had an amplified emotive effect on the electorate, as a result of which the Родина's electoral mandate was suspended on the grounds that the video incited ethnic hatred.

Ironically, the metaphor of cleaning started appearing in migration discourse especially often in the context of the market inspections in the search of illegal traders. The noun зачистка and the verb зачистить

constructed by the media as a powerful ideologeme to describe military operations of the Russian special military forces against Chechen militants (cf. Levontina 1999) were recontextualized into migration discourse, as the following examples demonstrate:

- 5.63) Силловые структуры и ФМС «взяли под козырек» и начали серию масштабных зачисток. (Moskovskaia pravda, 30.01.2007)

'Security agencies and the Federal Migration Service took the salute and started a series of large-scale cleansings.'

- 5.64) Столичные чиновники готовы рьяно включиться в борьбу по зачистке Москвы от нелегальных мигрантов и сокращении числа официальных гастарбайтеров. (Vremia novostei, 15.06.2007)

'The capital's officials have eagerly joined the battle of cleansing Moscow of illegal migrants and the reduction of the number of official guest workers.'

The metaphorical expressions зачистка 'cleansing' and зачистить 'to cleanse' are used in the above examples to describe military inspections of the markets with a view of exposing those migrants who have no legal right, i.e. who have no work permits and from April 2007 also those who have no Russian citizenship. The conceptual origins of these metaphoric expressions can be attributed to the conceptual metaphor WAR IS MEDICINE. The SELF discourse participants are represented by the military and government officials Силловые структуры и ФМС 'FSB and FMS', Столичные чиновники 'capital's officials', and OTHER discourse participants are represented as нелегальные трудовые мигранты 'illegal working migrants'. The criminalization of OTHER discourse participants allows for the legitimation of the military operation against those who are presented as an enemy army elsewhere. There are two possible explanations for the etymological origin of CLEANSING metaphors resulting in two different scenarios.

One scenario builds upon the representation of migrants as litter which has to be cleaned away. In this case it is possible that migrants are conceptualized as objectified agents within a larger structure which is the HOUSE metaphor.

An alternative scenario is based on the assumptions put forward by Lakoff (1991). The scholar suggests that in such metaphors, military control by the enemy can be seen as a tumour and military operations are seen as hygienic, to "clean out" enemy fortifications. We can also suggest that the metaphorical expressions *зачистка* 'cleansing' and *зачистить* 'to cleanse' may have associations with the domain of MEDICINE through the colloquialism *чистка* 'cleansing' which is used by female patients to describe a surgical operation of abortion. The complex conceptual blend contains three input spaces, i.e. WAR, MEDICINE and MIGRATION POLITICS:

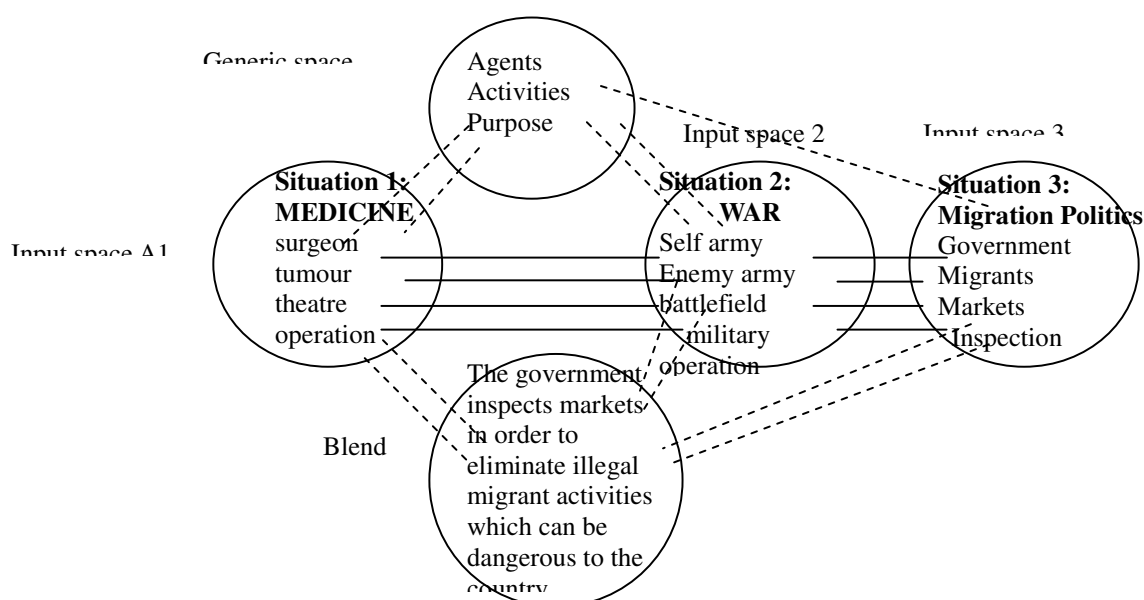


Figure 5.9. Conceptual scenario based on *зачистка* 'cleansing' metaphors

Three input situations are presented in Figure 5.9. In the input space MEDICINE, a surgeon is operating in a theatre. The purpose of the operation is to remove unwanted tissue from the body. In the second scenario, the situation of WAR is presented. The army launches a military operation against an enemy army in order to liberate the territory of the enemy soldiers. In the third input space entitled MIGRATION POLITICS, the governmental forces are inspecting markets in search of illegal immigrants who need to be deported. The generic space contains abstract relation such as the identities of the agents, the action of removing

something unwanted and dangerous. The emergent meaning in the blend presents a government who inspects markets in order to eliminate illegal migrant activities which can be dangerous to the country. The topos of danger is intensified through the characterization of the governmental agent as Силловые структуры 'Power structures' (Example 5.63) suggesting that force may be required to dispose of migrants and through comparing the implementation of policy to the martial concept борьба 'struggle' (Example 5.64) which also implies forceful actions towards an enemy.

5.4.6. RESTRAINT Metaphors

Power and authority can be conceptualized in terms of physical force (cf. Chilton 1996:52). Metaphors which draw on the image schema of force emphasise mostly physical restraint limiting freedom of migrants' movements:

- 5.65) Как известно, в весеннюю сессию депутаты приняли новый закон [...] для того чтобы снять ненужные административные барьеры перед трудовой миграцией, вывести ее "из тени". (Rossiiskaia gazeta, 8.09.2006)

'As it is well known, in the spring session, the deputies have issued a new law [...] in order to remove unnecessary obstacles in front of working migration and to take it "out of the shade".'

- 5.66) Да, изменились правила, но ведь не изменились чиновники! Полоса препятствий как была, так и останется, и будет работать преysкурant, а не закон. Виктор Черепков, депутат Госдумы, бывший мэр Владивостока (Gazeta, 16.01.2007)

'Yes, the rules have changed, but not the civil servants! The set of hurdle was there and it will be there, and the price list will be working but not the law. Viktor Cherepkov, Duma deputy, ex-Mayor of Vladivostok.'

Example (5.65) mentions the restraint административные барьеры перед трудовой миграцией 'administrative barriers before working migration' as a cause of obstacles before migrants which legitimizes the illegal status of working migrants. A similar image Полоса препятствий 'A set of hurdles'

emphasising multiple obstacles before migrants is employed in Example (5.66). The above metaphors draw on the image schema of force, and they can be explained in terms of the conceptual metaphor PSYCHOLOGICAL FORCE IS PHYSICAL FORCE (Lakoff 1993). The governmental services are conceptualized as powerful agents who put up obstacles by introducing unnecessary regulations and qualifying requirements. This presents migrants with the psychological difficulty of ensuring that they fulfil all the regulations and requirements, which is conceptualized as the physical strain of a sports person trying to jump hurdles.

Some metaphors in the corpus drawing on the domain of force employ images of active physical pressure on OTHER discourse participants exercised by officials, as in the following examples:

- 5.67) Отметим, что большинство столичных дворников и строителей – также выходцы из ближнего зарубежья. Попытка выдавить их из России или осложнить регистрацию и трудоустройство может негативно отразиться на москвичах. (Nezavisimaia gazeta, 15.02.2007)

'Let us note that most of the capital street-cleaners and builders are also natives of near abroad. An attempt to squeeze them out of Russia or to complicate the registration and job search can negatively affect the Muscovites.'

- 5.68) Действительно, иностранные работники стали постепенно покидать рынки, частично - под нажимом проверяющих органов, частично - из-за того, что администрация рынков отказывается заключать контракты на 2007 год. (Moskovskaia pravda, 30.01.2007)

'Indeed, foreign workers have gradually started leaving markets, partially under the pressure of controlling organs, partially because the market administration refused to sign contracts for 2007.'

Examples (5.67) and (5.68) discuss the effects of the pressure exercised by the authorities of the Russian Federation on migrants in connection with the recent changes in the migration legislation. The authorities are presented as powerful agents able to produce physical pressure conveyed through the metaphoric expressions выдавить 'to squeeze out' and под нажимом 'under the pressure'. Similarly to Examples (5.65) and (5.66), the metaphors draw on the image schema of force, and they can be explained in terms of the

conceptual metaphor PSYCHOLOGICAL FORCE IS PHYSICAL FORCE. The source domain of physical pressure is cross-mapped to the target domain of psychological pressure. It is important to mention that the above metaphors criticize the officials for deploying unnecessary pressure and creating unnecessary obstacles for migrants. Thus, sympathy for the migrants' situation is demonstrated.

The internal pressure metaphor in migration discourse assumes two discourse metaphors, i.e. NATION-STATE IS CONTAINER and MIGRANTS ARE CONTENTS. In Example (5.68), the nation-state is metonymically represented by markets. In Example (5.67) the nation-state is referred to directly as Россия 'Russia'. The pressure is produced by internal forces and it is intentional rather than conditioned by some physical law. The empty space left as a result of such pressure is described in the corpus as вакуум 'vacuum', as in the following examples:

- 5.69) Пока граждане России не выстраиваются в очередь, чтобы занять те 28 - 30 тысяч мест в сфере рыночной торговли, которые потребуются. Это серьезный вакуум, который нам надо заполнить до 1 апреля. (Komskomol'skaia pravda, 20.01.2007)

'Meanwhile, Russian citizens do not queue to take up these 28-30 thousand jobs in the sphere of the market trade which will be required. This is a serious vacuum which need to be filled by April 1.'

- 5.70) Есть прогноз, что у нас к 2015 году образуется вакуум в численности трудовых ресурсов - 8 миллионов. (Rossiiskaia gazeta, 13.02.2007)

'There is a forecast that by 2015 a vacuum will appear in the size of working resources – 8 millions.'

In Examples (5.69) and (5.70), the economic market is conceptualized as a container that can develop unwanted vacuous spaces as a result of the recent changes to the migration legislation. The vacuum is perceived as something detrimental to a stable economic market in which migrants are evaluated neutrally or sympathetically. On the contrary, authorities as the initiators or implementing agents of the detrimental actions are evaluated disapprovingly.

Example (5.71) gives an opposite evaluation of the SELF and OTHER discourse participants in the discourse unit represented:

5.71) Новое поколение русских гонит в национализм чувство собственной уязвимости. [...] Сплоченные диаспоры выдавливают их из бизнеса. Миллионы дешевых мигрантов вытесняют с рынка труда. Чиновники и силовики на местах давно научились действовать в интересах тех, кто вытесняет и выдавливает. (Izvestiia, 15.01.2007)

A new generation of the Russians are driven to nationalism by the feeling of their own vulnerability. [...] Well-consolidated diasporas are squeezing them out of their business. Millions of cheap migrants are pressing them from the job market. Civil servants and local security officials have learnt a long time ago how to act in the interests of those who are squeezing and pressing.

In Example (5.71), the agents of the forceful action who are evaluated negatively are migrants themselves. They are described collectively as диаспоры 'diasporas' and Миллионы дешевых мигрантов 'millions of cheap migrants'. Social upheavals and tensions are expected as the effect of their actions. This is a typical representation of migrants with regard to the nation-state as container in far-right migration discourse (cf. Charteris-Black 2006). It is notable that such negative representations appear in pro-governmental discourse which, as was demonstrated in Chapter 4, shows elements of racist discourse.

5.4.7. ANIMAL metaphors

Some of the metaphorical situations in the corpus draw on the domain of ANIMAL, as seen in Example (5.23). The metaphorical expression ловля блох 'flea catching' is possibly used by Yuri Luzhkov to conceptualize ways and methods by means of which the government is dealing with social and economic issues allegedly arising from migration. However, at least part of this expression, i.e. ловля 'catching', may also be used literally to describe the government's previous attempts to catch illegal immigrants. The ambiguity of such expressions cannot be resolved by the textual data, and it remains open for interpretation. Surely, the half-literal interpretation does

suggest recourse to the domain ANIMAL to ascribe lack of significance and other negative values to migrants.

The effect of such metaphors is considerable in migration discourse, as some of them are employed by high-profile elite agents. The recourse to the ANIMAL domain especially in migration discourse is usually perceived as an extreme and unquestionable proof of racism (cf. Van Dijk 1991, Van Teefelen 1994, Santa Ana 2002, Charteris-Black 2004 etc.) However, detailed research suggests that the domains such as ANIMAL cannot be accurately described as assigning exclusively positive or negative features to discourse participants. Deignan (2005:137) notices that ascribing positive or negative force to a particular expression “involves identifying the mapping that applies in each particular context”. As Santa Ana (2002) mentions in his sceptic counter-argument, quite often human beings are portrayed as animals and these portrayals are not racist. However, as concluded in Chapter 4, ambiguous expressions are frequently used with a view of expressing a discriminatory ideology, such as ethnicism, about certain groups in migration discourse. Therefore, precisely the ambiguous expressions, as described above, should be accorded special attention.

I suggest that the strategy of OTHER negativization through the evocation of danger and threat can be an indication of a potentially racist metaphor which draws on the conceptual domain of ANIMAL. Consider Example (75.2):

5.72) «А в Москве иностранцев много, но если это нормальные люди, то я к ним и отношусь нормально. А вот если все это превращается в муравейник, то есть образуется какой-то переизбыток и эта масса становится активной и иногда даже воинствующей, то в этом, конечно, ничего хорошего нет». **Александр Абдулов, народный артист России** (Gazeta, 16.01.2007)

'As for Moscow, there are many foreigners here, but if they are normal people, then my attitude to them is normal. But if all this turns into an ant hill, then a certain oversupply is created and this mass becomes active and sometimes even militant, then there is, of course, nothing good in it. Aleksandr Abdulov, People's artist of Russia'

Example (5.72) is a representation of the utterance produced by the eminent

actor Aleksandr Abdulov in connection with the discussion on the simplification of the registration process for working migrants. The utterance was produced as the answer to the question “А у вас иностранцы работают?” ‘Are there any foreign workers at your work place?’ The respondent distinguishes between two groups of migrants, i.e. the representation нормальные люди ‘normal people’ versus an antagonist representation through the metaphorical expression муравейник ‘ants hill’. Evidently, normality, in his words, is a small number of migrants whereas the image of a chaotic ants hill represents “too many migrants”. He explains the metaphor by verbally outlining some criteria for comparison: образуется какой-то переизбыток ‘some surplus is building up’ (semantic attribute “too many”) and эта масса становится активной и иногда даже воинствующей ‘this mass becomes active and sometimes even militant’ (semantic attributes “militant, aggressive”). He then evaluates the result of such aggregation of migrants as unquestionably negative through the clause в этом, конечно, ничего хорошего нет ‘there is nothing good in it’. Thus, the first criterion implies that migrants are seen as a group which can increase in size. The second criterion establishes a logical connection between the increase in size and a behavioural change of the group which is becoming active and aggressive. Thus, the actor draws on the conceptual domains of ANIMAL / sub-domain INSECT and CONFLICT to negatively represent OTHER discourse participants. The relations between the spaces constructed by these domains and the space of MIGRATION are presented in the complex conceptual network in Figure 5.10:

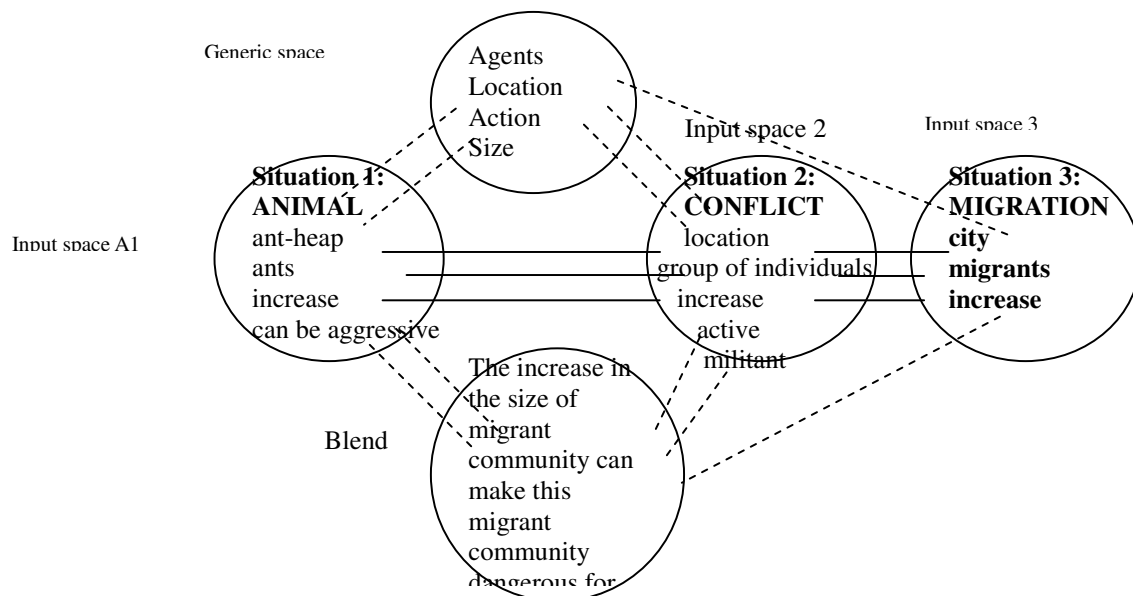


Figure 5.10. Conceptual Blend for the муравейник 'ant hill' metaphor (Example 5.72)

It has to be noted that the situation described by Abdulov by means of the ANIMAL metaphor, is introduced by the conditional *если* 'if' clause. Thus, he positions his ANIMAL metaphor into the *counterfactual*, i.e. hypothetical space. Counterfactuality adds vagueness to the position of the interviewee with regard to migrants. His agency towards the 'normal' people is quite clear in the first conditional *если* 'if' clause: *я к ним и отношусь нормально* 'I develop a normal relationship with them'. However, in the counterfactual situation introduced by the second it becomes obscured by the *если* 'if' clause, the actor's own agency is obfuscated by the impersonal evaluative clause *то в этом, конечно, ничего хорошего нет* 'then, there is, of course, nothing good in it'. The adverb *конечно* 'of course' is probably introduced to normalize a possible negative reaction to the increase in the migrant's population.

The input situation which draws on the conceptual domain ANIMAL contains the following elements: an ant hill for location, ants as inhabitants of an ant hill for agents and an increase in the size of the population as an action. These elements have the abstract relations of location, agents, action, properties and size in common with the spaces of CONFLICT and MIGRATION. The conceptual domain of CONFLICT

contains any location in which individuals gather in a group until the sheer number makes the group hardly controllable. The knowledge schema of urban conflicts with the presence of the non-native population and negative associations with such conflicts help to establish the emergent meaning in the blend. The emergent meaning is “The increase in the size of the migrant community makes this migrant community dangerous for other inhabitants”. Migrants are thus represented as a source of danger. We see that migrants are connected to the domain of ANIMAL through the relations of property: increase in size and potential for aggressiveness. We can thus classify the metaphoric situation described in Example (5.72) as racist.

Let us consider another example which draws on the domain of ANIMAL:

- 5.73) Чуть позже директор Федеральной миграционной службы Константин Ромодановский сообщил, что 1 апреля, в день введения полного запрета, лично посетил два московских рынка - Рижский и Ленинградский. На Рижском, по его словам, из 300 торговых мест пустовало 10-15. «Эти цифры показывают незначительное сокращение рабочих мест на рынке, что никак не должно отразиться на росте цен, - сказал он и добавил: - Если у акулы удалить 10-15 зубов, ничего страшного не случится». Но, похоже, получилось, как если бы 10-15 зубов удалили у человека. (Vremia novostei, 11.04.2007)

'Some time later, Head of Federal Migration Service Konstantin Ronodanovski reported that on April the 1st, the day of the introduction of the full ban, he personally visited two Moscow markets – Rizhskiy and Leningradskiy. At the Rizhskiy market, according to him, 10-15 places out of 300 were empty. 'These numbers show an insignificant reduction of working places at the market, which should not affect prices', he said and added, 'If a shark will be extracted 10-15 teeth, nothing is going to happen'. However, it looks, as if 10-15 teeth have been extracted from a human being.'

The head of the Federal Migration Service Konstantin Romodanovskiy describes the market in terms of the animal акула 'shark'. The reduction of market places as an effect of the implementation of new migration politics, i.e. the reduction in the number of non-Russian citizens amongst traders, is conceptualized as a teeth-extracting operation on the shark. Thus, the

market places, i.e. market traders, are conceptualized by Romodanovskiy as the teeth of a shark. The inanimate abstract entity рынок ‘market’ is animated by being conceptualized as a shark whereas the traders are depersonalised by being conceptualized as teeth. The most important semantic attributes of the shark are “dangerous” and “threatening”.

The author of the article recontextualized the strategy of migrants' objetivization. The meaning that emerges in the second metaphor is completely opposite to the one emerging in the first metaphor, as presented in Figures 5.11 and 5.12:

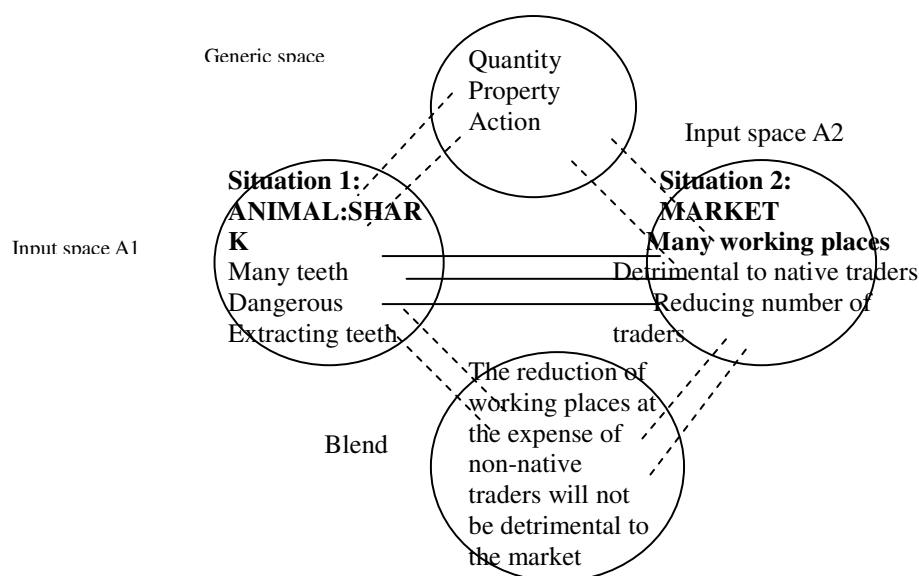


Figure 5.11. Metaphorical blend of the акула ‘shark’ metaphor (Example 5.73)

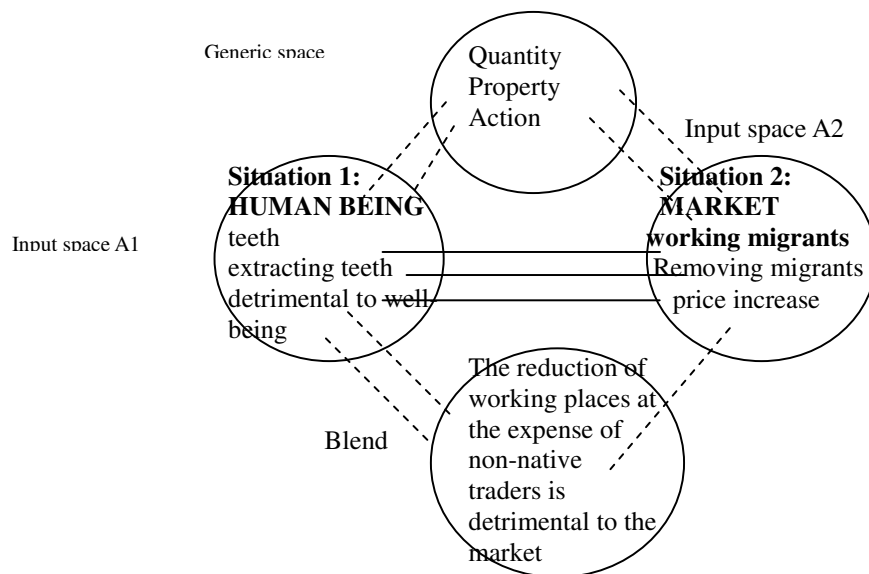


Figure 5.12. Metaphorical blend of the человек 'human being' metaphor (Example 5.73)

In both figures the target space is the same, i.e. MARKET. The effect of such an operation is described by Romodanovskiy as non-detrimental to the market, because, by inference, there are too many teeth which make the shark dangerous and their removal will make it less dangerous. A similar way of thinking was deployed by Aleksander Abdulov in Example (5.72).

However, the author of the article in Example (5.73) elaborates the resulting metaphorical blend through reconceptualising the teeth-extracting operation to the domain of HUMAN BEING. Thus, the semantic attributes "dangerous" and "threatening" are neutralized, as, strictly speaking, the image of a human being in itself does not evoke feelings of danger. The effect of such an operation is evidently detrimental to the well-being of a person as extracting 10-15 teeth prevents the human body from normal functioning. Can the ANIMAL metaphor introduced by Romodanovskiy in Example (5.73) then be labelled as a racist metaphor? It certainly uses the image of the market as a very dangerous place specifically due to the presence of migrants. Although migrants are not conceptualized as animals, they are objectified through the strategy of somatisation, i.e. reference to a part of the body of an animal. Therefore, we can consider this metaphor as racist. The alternative metaphor in Example (5.73) assumes the de-

animalization of the market by the author of the text and the recontextualized BODY metaphor in the concept HUMAN BEING evokes attitudes of sympathy.

Example (5.74) conceptualizes relationships between SELF and OTHER participants as those between a wolf and a rabbit whereas the metaphoric situation involves the wolf chasing the rabbit:

5.74) Должны быть точки позитивного соприкосновения между милицией и мигрантами. А то получается: волк-милиционер и заяц-мигрант. Ежедневная охота. (Rossiiskaia gazeta, 8.12.2006)

'There must be points of positive contact between the police and the migrants. Otherwise, what is happening is the wolf-policeman and the hare-migrant. A daily hunt.'

The metaphoric situation in Example (5.74) is based on cross-mapping between two spaces one of which evokes associations connected with the assigning of specific qualities to animals. Analysing zoomorphic metaphors, Chudinov (2001) comments that although wolves, sharks and hawks traditionally represent aggressiveness and cruelty, often their metaphoric representations are associated with the qualities of fables and cartoon characters. Thus, the input space with the agents wolf and rabbit and the hunt may be constructed on the basis of the scenario from the famous cartoon Ну, погоди! 'Just you wait!' This cartoon is created in the genre of slapstick humour and includes elements of physical violence as well as comical situations. The wolf in this cartoon first appears as a threatening and a cunning figure, who always ends up finding himself in awkward situations. The rabbit is presented as a simple-minded but astute and quick-witted character who manages to come unscathed out of all the traps set by the wolf. These character traits and behavioural patterns are projected into the blended space to create an emergent meaning in which the qualities and behaviour of the wolf are attributed to the policemen whereas the qualities and behaviour of the rabbits are attributed to the migrants. The metaphoric situation of the hunt described in Example (5.74) is used to win sympathy for the affected agents, i.e. migrants. Similarly to the ironic metaphor 'There is no more frightening animal than the migrant', this example of irony

should not be considered as a racist metaphor, as irony reverses the evaluative meaning.

However, the animal metaphors introduced by authoritative figures such as the “fleas” or “ants” metaphors, i.e. lower elements of the great chain of being, do seem to create a feeling of racist language in which migrants are presented as lower beings.

5.4.8. BODY metaphors

According to cognitive linguists, BODY metaphors, similarly to HOUSE metaphors, draw on the image schema of container (Johnson 1987). The use of BODY metaphors in migration discourse represents another way of conceptualizing a state as a container or a city as a container. Bodies have skin as external limits similarly to a state or a city having borders. Hence, BODY metaphors can be used to portray a bounded inner space that is differentiated from what is outside. SELF and OTHER discourse participants are represented as various tissues, parts and processes in the body. Consider Examples (5.75) and (5.76):

- 5.75) Большие города всегда нуждаются в свежей крови.
(Vecherniaia Moskva, 19.04.2007)

'Big cities always need fresh blood.'

- 5.76) Лидер ЛДПР Владимир Жириновский предложил сажать за решетку всех, кто нелегально пересек границу, прекратить железнодорожное сообщение со странами - донорами рабочей силы и даже начать в стране пропаганду против нелегальных мигрантов. (Gazeta, 5.12.2006)

'The LDPR's leader Vladimir Zhirinovskii has suggested that everybody should be put behind bars who illegally crossed the border, that railway communication between the countries-donors of the work force should be stopped and even that a propaganda against illegal migrants should start.'

In both examples, OTHER discourse participants are conceptualized in terms of blood, i.e. the essential part of the body without which it is not able to function. In Example (5.75), the input spaces for the metaphorical blend are constructed through the concept the BODY and CITY. Similarly to the

body, the city has a bounded inner space. Blood delivers necessary substances such as nutrients and oxygen to the body's cells, and transports waste products away from those same cells. The blood metaphor is qualified as *свежая кровь* 'fresh blood' as nutrients and oxygen are coming from outside the body. Migrants, coming from outside, are thus conceptualized as substances necessary for the healthy functioning of the city. The emergent meaning in the blend is that migrants are necessary for big cities and big cities are unable to survive without them. Example (5.76) is an instance of represented discourse. The direct quotation from Zhirinovskiy's speech can be found in another newspaper: "...Прекратить железнодорожное сообщение со странами, посылающими к нам нелегалов..." 'Stop any communication with the countries sending us the illegals' (Rossijskaia gazeta, 6.12.2006). Although migrants are represented negatively through the strategy of criminalization in Zhirinovskiy's direct speech, the countries of the migrants' origin are portrayed by the journalists as *страны-доноры рабочей силы* 'countries-donors of work force'. Migrants are portrayed through the metonymic expression *рабочая сила* 'work force' in which physical force replaces a person who produces this force. Other countries are conceptualized as somebody delivering something from outside that the state-as-body is lacking, compared to donating blood or body organs. It can be argued that the migrants are actually conceptualized as something necessary and desirable to the state-as-body through the deployment of the BODY metaphor in the expression *страны-доноры рабочей силы* 'countries-donors of work force' as force is also required for the effective functioning of the body. Thus, the authors of the text decriminalize the OTHER representation in the represented speech of Zhirinovskiy.

Example (5.77) contains two metaphoric expressions drawing on the domain BODY. The first expression appears as a novel metaphor CITY AS BODY and COUNTRY AS BODY in its elaboration. This discourse metaphor is elaborated in the next sentence:

5.77) Помню, один из журналистов написал, что Москва беременна Кавказом. Уж если на то пошло, то Россия давно им

разродилась. (Alexey Alexandrov, Head of National Policy, Moscow government, Rossiiskaia gazeta, 3.05.2007)

'I remember that one of the journalists wrote that Moscow is pregnant with the Caucasus. If that is the case, Russia has already given birth to it.'

In Example (5.77), Moscow is personified by being conceptualized as a pregnant woman carrying a child and then giving birth to the child. This metaphor is a historical allusion to the RUSSIA IS A PREGNANT WOMAN introduced by Stalin in 1924.⁵³ One input space of the metaphorical blend is based on the domain of BODY; another input space is based on the domain of CITY. The state of pregnancy and the action of giving birth are compared to the position of the OTHER discourse participants in the city, i.e. living enclosed in their own communities denied their own agency, but eventually bursting out into Moscow society with all the positive and negative effects of their actions. The conceptualization of the capital city through the image of a pregnant woman is quite unusual in migration discourse. Traditional associations with the object of a pregnancy, i.e. a foetus, are always positive by default. OTHER discourse participants are metonymically represented through replacing persons by the name of the region, i.e. through the strategy of spatialisation. The two metaphoric blends are connected through the image of the child. The metaphoric expression Москва беременна Кавказом 'Moscow is pregnant with the Caucasus' draws on negative associations with pregnancy as Кавказ 'the Caucasus' is probably conceptualized as an unwanted child. In the novel represented blend it is associated with a negative attitude. In the elaborated metaphor, Alexey Alexandrov exemplifies OTHER discourse participants by particularizing the generalized spatial reference Кавказ in the intellectual elite of past and contemporary Russia, i.e. employing strategies of positivization. Thus, the represented negative representation of migrants is contested and disclaimed by authors of texts, and subsequently neutralized, as in Examples (5.73) and (5.76).

Sometimes social problems associated with migration discourse are

⁵³ Published in: Stalin, I.V. (1947): "Ob osnovah leninisma: 15. Lekcii, chitannye v Sverdlovskom universitete, in: Stalin, I.V. Sochineniia, Volume 6, Moscow:OGIZ, pp. 69-188

represented through images of disease, as in the following examples:

- 5.78) The Russians must be returned their self-confidence [...] What concerns specifically the Chechens, they can live in other regions of Russia. But because of the peculiarities of their behaviour, they must be placed under a strict administrative control. The lack of such a control will provoke conflicts.

'Conflicts on the ethnic ground in the the contemporary Russia are very alarming symptoms. Valeriy Solovey, a historian, expert of 'Gorbachov Foundation', shares his opinion on how to "treat" this illness and, what is no less important, "to arrive at a diagnosis" with an MN correspondent.'

- 5.79) - [...] Надо вернуть русским уверенность в себе.[...] Что же касается именно чеченцев, то они могут жить в других регионах России. Но из-за особенностей поведения они должны находиться под очень жестким административным контролем. Отсутствие такого контроля будет провоцировать конфликты. (Moskovskie novosti, 6.10.2006)

'Конфликты на национальной почве в современной России - симптомы очень тревожные. Своими размышлениями о том, как "лечить" эту болезнь и, что не менее важно, как правильно "поставить диагноз", с обозревателем "МН" делится историк, эксперт "Горбачев-фонда" Валерий СОЛОВЕЙ.'

- 5.79) На самом высоком уровне делаются заявления о необходимости порядка на рынках, жесткого регулирования миграционных процессов, борьбы с этнической преступностью. Но пока эти слова не воплотятся в реальные изменения на местах, назвать эти меры сильным ударом по вирусу "нац" в головах нового поколения едва ли возможно. (Izvestiia, 15.01.2007)

'At the highest level, statements are being made about the necessity of discipline in the markets, strict regulation of migration processes, a fight against ethnic crime. But before these words transform into real changes locally, these measures can be hardly called a strong blow on the "nazi" virus in the heads of the new generation.'

In Example (5.78), Russia is represented is an ailing body which has to be diagnosed according to available symptoms and treated respectively. Again, one input space is based on the domain of BODY, and another input space is based on the domain of NATION. Interethnic conflicts in the domain of NATION are cross-mapped to the symptoms of a disease which represents an additionally recruited frame in the domain BODY. The emergent

meaning in the blend represents an interethnic conflict as destructive to the nation. If not acted against soon, such conflicts can possibly weaken or destroy a nation completely. The methods of cure, suggested by the famous nationalist Valeriy Solovey further in the article, reflect his nationalistic views, and are unquestionably nationalistic.

Example (5.79) presents an elaboration of the metaphor from Example (5.78). However, this time the “disease” has been diagnosed as caused by the virus вирус "нац" 'virus nazi'. "нац" 'nazi' is an abbreviated colloquialism for the ideology of extreme nationalism. The danger of such ideology is emphasised and amplified through its comparison with a virus as an infectious agent reproducing itself inside a host cell. Thus, the element вирус 'virus' from the input space A1 is cross-mapped onto the ideology of nationalism in input space A2 outlining its destructive and contagious nature and its ability to spread across society. However, the method to cure this virus, as in the previous example, is directed against 'criminal' migrants and implies the use of strict control on the part of the Russian authorities.

5.5. Evaluative metaphor content

The purpose of this section is to summarize the above findings on the use of discourse metaphors based on specific source domains for evaluative purposes in the representation of participants of migration discourse. The idea of the evaluative force of metaphors being dependant on the source domain comes from the research on semantic fields by Kittay (1987) and it has been used in metaphor corpus analysis by Beer and Landtsheer (2004) while research on semantic fields has been updated to include research on source domains.

It became clear in the discussion earlier in this chapter that metaphors based on different source domains can be used with different frequency to represent OTHER discourse participants. Whereas SELF discourse participants are often represented as suffering on behalf of migrants' actions, behaviour or character, OTHER discourse participants are continuously negativized. The evaluative analysis of the most frequent

metaphors used for the evaluation of migrants demonstrated the following results:

Source Domain	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Ambiguous
HOUSE	3	39	11	1
CURRENT	4	34	18	0
WAR	0	27	4	0
LIGHT-DARK	0	12	0	0
RESTRAINT	0	8	10	0
FAMILY	0	3	5	0
ANIMAL	0	3	6	2
BODY	0	2	13	0
Sub-total	7	128	67	3
Total: 222				

Table 5.4. Evaluation of OTHER discourse participants according to source domain.

Table 5.4 demonstrates that the highest number of negative OTHER representations in the corpus is achieved by representing migrants through discourse metaphors based on the source domains of HOUSE (39 usages), followed by the domains of CURRENT (34 usages) and WAR (27 usages). Following Santa Ana (2002), we can classify such metaphors as *dominant* in the negativization of OTHER discourse participants. The discourse metaphors based on the source domains of LIGHT-DARK and RESTRAINT present a *secondary* type with 12 and 8 negative usages respectively. The rest of the source domains are used *occasionally* to represent negatively OTHER discourse participants. Thus, discourse metaphors based on the conceptual domain HOUSE proves not only the most frequent, but also the most *emotive* (see Beer and Landtsheer 2004) in the negative representation of OTHER discourse participants. This is not surprising considering the emotional effect of the concept HOUSE in Russian discourse (see earlier discussion). However, we should concede the fact that the dominant HOUSE, CURRENT and WAR metaphors are not consistently used to negativize migrants in this extended moderate corpus. We observe a substantial number of neutral (11, 18 and 4 respectively) and even positive (3 for HOUSE and 4 for CURRENT domains) OTHER representations which demonstrate that there is a vigorous debate in the

Russian media on the positive and negative role of migrants in contemporary Russia and benefits and disadvantages of migration for contemporary Russian society in general. The more frequent use of discourse metaphors based on the image schema of RESTRAINTS in the neutral context, i.e. to express sympathies with migrants, is indicative of critical evaluation of governmental strategies. A surprising outcome of the evaluative analysis is, however the fact that LIGHT-DARK metaphors find an extensive use in OTHER negativization. As Table 5.3 shows, these discourse metaphors are only used for negativization of OTHER discourse participants indirectly implying criminalization. Whereas HOUSE, CURRENT and WAR have been noted in all available research studies of migration discourse, LIGHT- DARK metaphors seem to be exclusive to the Russian migration discourse in their potential negative evaluative content.

5.6. Conclusions

Chapter 5 demonstrates that discourse metaphors in migration discourse are conceptually traceable to several domains. The most dominant discourse metaphors are based on the domains of HOUSE, CURRENT and WAR. Secondary metaphors draw on the domains of LIGHT-SHADE and RESTRAINT. Other occasional discourse metaphors are based on the source domains of FAMILY, BODY and ANIMAL. It has been demonstrated that the analysis from the perspective of Conceptual Blending Theory is a suitable type of analysis to account for emergent meanings specifically in novel metaphors. However, the analysis of ideological meanings should be supplemented by an analysis of evaluative content. The analysis of the emergent meanings in the most of the examples discussed in this chapter shows that the strategy of OTHER negativization and OTHER delegitimization through evocation of the topos of threat and SELF legitimization are dominant discursive strategies in pro-governmental migration discourse. This corresponds with the observations of Chudinov (2001) concerning the use of political metaphors in contemporary Russia, i.e. metaphors are used to accentuate threat, conflicts and aggressiveness.

With respect to the analysis of emotional content of discourse metaphors in Extended Moderate Corpus, their comparison to the strategies used in Pilot Moderate Corpus (see Chapter 4) demonstrates that in Pilot Moderate Corpus, compiled in August to November 2006, the number of neutral OTHER representations was considerably higher than that of negative OTHER representations (415 usages and 313 usages respectively). In Extended Moderate Corpus, compiled in August 2006 to August 2007, there is a wider use of negative metaphors, than neutral metaphors used for OTHER representation (128 negative versus 67 neutral metaphors). This may be indicative of two outcomes: 1) metaphors are especially preferred devices in the negativization of OTHER discourse participants, as most metaphoric expressions are employed for the realization of the strategy of negativization or 2) migration discourse becomes more radicalised in general and it employs more extensively OTHER negativization. I suggest that it is a combination of the two above factors that characterizes migration discourse in 2006-2007. Enough evidence has been found which was demonstrated in the examples in Chapter 5 that persons with high evidential standing are responsible for the proliferations of such negative mental frameworks which negatively represent migrants. Further evidence for the increasing radicalization of migration discourse with respect of polarized SELF and OTHER representation can be demonstrated in Chapter 6.

On the whole, the Moderate Corpus demonstrates a considerably larger use of metaphors for the representation of SELF and OTHER discourse participants than the Radical Corpus. This confirms the observations of Kozhevnikova (2007) on the use of indirect language and difficulty for the researchers of such language to pinpoint clearly linguistic expressions with racist potential.

Multimodal representation of SELF and OTHER in the campaign Наши деньги - нашим людям 'Our money for our people'

6. 1. Research questions and Rationale

This chapter investigates how the representations of SELF and OTHER discourse participants are sustained in moderate migration discourse in 2008-2009. The analysis of metaphors in Chapter 5 demonstrated that the visual element can be indispensable to analysis of metaphorical meanings (see Section 5.2.2.5). This study aims, firstly, at the inclusion of the visual component into the analysis of the contemporary Russian migration discourse supporting the view expressed by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996/2007) that all semiosis is multimodal, and that a sociolinguistic study of any aspect of contemporary discourse is incomplete without the consideration of the visual material. Secondly, the methodology developed for the analysis of texts sourced from various media, will be applied to self-mediated action by one institutional discourse participant. Thirdly, this methodology will be tested on the analysis of visual material.

The following research questions will be focused upon in this chapter:

- How are SELF and OTHER categorized in the visual images and in the text?
- What is the role of various linguistic and pictorial aspects in conveying ideological messages?
- What are the specific discursive strategies and linguistic instantiations which convey ideological meanings?

6.2. Sociopolitical background and description of campaign "Наши деньги - нашим людям"

The reforms aimed at the optimization of the migration processes and at the resettlement of compatriots as well as the issuing of quotas for migrants, failed by and large (cf. Zevelev 2008). The quota system introduced in 2007 turned out to be inefficient and inflexible, leaving working migrants without any chance of legalizing their employment status, as some regions of the Russian Federation exhausted their quotas for the year 2008 even before the start of the summer 2008 (cf. Tiuriukanova 2009, Ivakhnyuk 2009). The quotas were not reconsidered until October 2008. However, in November 2008 the Prime Minister Vladimir Putin urged the government to reduce the quotas by 50%. Eventually, a compromise was reached in December 2008 as a result of which the quotas for 2009 were reduced although not as dramatically as those for 2008.

The campaign Наши деньги - нашим людям 'Our money for our people' was launched in November 2008 by the pro-governmental youth movement Молодая гвардия (henceforth MGER) which appeared in 2005 as a youth organization of the ruling party Единая Россия (henceforth EdRo). The campaign included three separate actions in the period of three months, one on November 1, 2008 (henceforth Action 1), one on December 8, 2008 (henceforth Action 2) and one on January 19, 2009 (Action 3), all of which were united through a common theme and objectives. The main objectives were the support of Putin's proposal of quota reduction and the problematisation of the migration issue in a time of economic crisis. The actions were synchronized between different regional MGER groups in various locations of the Russian Federation.

Action 1 represented a rehearsal action which included the picketing of the head offices of the Federal Migration Service and large construction companies in Moscow ПИК 'PIK' and Mirax Group as well as the picketing of head offices of the Federal Migration Service in Cheliabinsk and Novosibirsk. The MGER members dressed in the national colours of the Russian Federation as the symbolic colours of the movement and presented banners, posters and large soft bags to the officials of the Federal Migration Office and security guards of the construction companies. The posters

contained the following utterances: Наши деньги - нашим людям 'Our money for our people', Порядок на стройке - порядок на улице 'Order at the construction site - order in the street', Деньги - российским рабочим 'Money for the Russian workers', Закон и порядок 'Law and Order' (with the capital Я 'I'). In addition, each group of picketers held a magnified train ticket in which the place of departure was the site where the particular picket was held and the place of destination was generalized and abstractivised through the adverb домой 'home', i.e. Москва – домой 'Moscow - home'. The reports on the campaign appeared on the MGER's website in the form of still pictures, video reports of the local news agencies and the accompanying news bulletin Лента новостей о ходе акции 'News bulletin about the development of the campaign'. The text contained information about picketing along with some interviews. ⁵⁴

Action 2 constituted the main stage of the campaign. It included the picketing of the main offices of the Federal Migration Service in Moscow, Vladivostok, Vladimir, Lipetsk, Pensa, Perm, Petropavlovsk-Kamchatsky, Ryazan, Samara, Smolensk, Tula, Ulyanovsk and Khabarovsk, i.e. thirteen large cities across the Russian Federation. The picketers used the same posters, strategies and demands. The visual support was more elaborate in these. The main slogan Наши деньги - нашим людям 'Our money for our people', as well as the slogan Наша страна - наша работа 'Our country – our jobs' appeared printed in red on the background of the blue figure representing the contours of the Russian Federation on the white paper symbolically representing the national colours of the Russia Federation. Other posters contained slogans ФМС, не тормози 'FMS, do not slow down', Построим мост своими руками 'Let us build the bridge with our own hands', Защитим граждан России 'Let us defend Russian citizens', Каждый второй – домой 'Every second one - home' backgrounded by schematic images of a road worker digging the ground, Париж 2005 год

⁵⁴ Since these interviews represent supporting positions of external agents/ authorities or authored by non-MGER agents, these interviews and videos have been left out of the scope of analysis of this study. This has primarily been done due to space limits. The only visual material used for the analysis are MGER- originated or -commissioned photographs.

'Paris Year 2005' with the background of the images of burning cars. The representation of this action also appeared on the website of MGER.

Action 3 was the action conducted at the train stations of Moscow, Riazan', Samara, Novosibirsk and Cheliabinsk. The MGER members directly confronted migrants on incoming trains from the CIS countries. There were only three utterances in the posters Нелегал - вор! 'The illegal immigrant is a thief', Работай легально! 'Work legally', Хочешь работать - плати налоги! 'If you want to work – pay taxes!', which the MGER activists also chanted. All posters were translated into Uzbek or Tadjik and illustrated. Apart from that, leaflets with the heading Работай легально! 'Work legally!' were handed out to the passengers arriving on the trains and to their friends and relatives waiting at the station.

The campaign was skilfully constructed and orchestrated at all stages of its execution. The distribution of information was conducted in line with MGER's slogans concerning the use of modern technologies, such as street and Internet technologies. In one of their resolutions, MGER states:

Molodaia Gvardiia must become a leader in the public-political space of Russia in the use of street and Internet technologies; street and Internet technologies are exclusive youth instruments. Molodaia Gvardiia must increase their potential in this sphere. The Russian-speaking Internet is a powerful developmental instrument of the "Russian World" and broadcasting of ideas (<http://www.molgvardia.ru/resolution-3>)⁵⁵

Like other politically motivated projects, MGER considers it particularly important to employ modern communication technologies, in particular, the Runet. Considering the fact, that by 2008 up to 30% of the Russian population was using the Internet/ Runet on a regular basis (cf. Saunders 2008), the coverage of the campaign through the Internet/ Runet is crucial. It was essential for MGER to create a nation-wide representation of the

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Interestingly, the concept of *Русский мир* 'Russian world', brought into political context by Putin in 2007 as a part of *Русский проект* "The Russian project", has ethnic connotations and requires additional explanations on the part of those using it in the contemporary socio-political context (cf. the article "Новый и старый "русский мир" by Valeriy Tishkov, <http://kreml.org/opinions/150934413>)

campaign, combining reports from various sites and thus amplifying the ideological message.

In the coverage of the campaign on MGER's website, the photographs take up a significant amount of the virtual space, at times self-replicating and showing nearly identical images from various sites. Such phenomena, i.e. the supplementation of content by form in political youth movements, were noticed by Ulrich Schmidt (2006), who traces them back to the ideology of the Soviet conceptualist art movements popular in Moscow in the 1960s-70s. Indeed, the preoccupation with visual elements is reflected in the design of the textual commentary accompanying the photographs. Especially prominent is the use of different typefaces, e.g. bold face is used to attract the reader's attention to specific statements in the commentary. Capital letters are often used for headlines. Such features of textual design can be considered especially in establishing, for instance, MGER's system of values, because the most important items have to be made prominent in design, i.e. through letter capitalization.

6.3. Framework and methods

In contemporary discourse studies dealing with representation of social actors, identities and social relations, language is no longer theorized as an isolated phenomenon (Baldry 2000, Kress 2003, Kress and Van Leeuwen 2001, 1996/ 2007). O'Halloran asserts that "the analysis and interpretation of language use is contextualized in conjunction with other semiotic resources which are simultaneously used for the construction of meaning" (O'Halloran 2006:1).

In Van Leeuwen's view,

Critical Discourse Analysis needs to take account of nonverbal as well as verbally realized discourses and aspects of discourse, and of image as well as text, because these often realize quite different, sometimes even contrasting meanings. (Van Leeuwen 2004:15).

In his view, verbal and visual components of one single multimodal communicative act “blend like instruments in an orchestra” and “should be understood as multimodal microevents” in which all semiotic modalities are fused (Van Leeuwen 2004:7-8). In many ways, Multimodal Discourse Analysis draws on the principles and concepts of functional systemic linguistics and discourse analytical approach derived from this theory. According to the principle of stratification of meaning professed in Multimodal Discourse Analysis (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2001:4-7), meaning concerns *content stratum*, which consists of discourse as socially constructed knowledges of some aspect of reality, design, and expression stratum, which deals with production and distribution of multimodal texts. Intertextuality is particularly important in Multimodal Discourse Analysis as “we constantly ‘import’ signs from other contexts (another era, social group, culture) into the context in which we are now making a new sign, in order to signify ideas and values which are associated with that other context” (ibid.:10). Ultimately, Multimodal Discourse Analysis is interested in exploring experiential meaning potential of signifiers which all of them have (ibid.).

Why is Multimodal Discourse Analysis particularly applicable within the discourse analytical approach realized in this thesis? The first reason is that multimodality has been acquiring a primary status in the representation of events, socio-political and other identities and other phenomena of contemporary life in the media, especially online media. The multimodal categories of meaning, such as “attributing qualities to identities”(Van Leeuwen 2004:15), amongst other aspects, cut across different modes. Finally, Multimodal Discourse Analysis can be combined with other currents within discourse analysis, such as the representation of social identities and interpersonal relations.

The following methodological assumptions have assisted in the choice of the analytic framework:

- The campaign Наши деньги - нашим людям ‘Our money for our people’ cannot be analyzed without reference to the contemporary

Russian migration discourse, within which this campaign is appropriated. The focus of the analysis is on social action and social actors, i.e. their identities, interaction and interpersonal relations. Verbal and visual elements mediate these relations to the readers or viewers and they are as important as other material objects represented in the photographs, such as the party activist's elements of dress, posters, colours, bags, tickets and body postures. This focus corresponds with the framework suggested by Scollon (2001). Scollon suggests that such elements must be seen as mediational means which serve to mediate a specific instance of social action at various engagement sites and thus link it to the general practice, i.e. Discourse as a structured and regulated system. Ultimately, a mediated action produces and reproduces social identities and social structures (ibid.:5).

- Discursive strategies of SELF and OTHER representation are not linked to a particular semiotic resource and can be discovered both in a textual and in a visual corpus. Van Leeuwen (1996) suggests that the [linguistic] categories should in principle be seen as pan-semiotic. This corresponds with the overall approach advocated by Multimodal Discourse Analysis.

I conducted my analysis in the general framework of critical discourse analysis advocated by Fairclough (1995), which connects three stages of analysis, i.e. description, interpretation and explanation to different dimensions of discourse. Fairclough's framework includes the description of the text or semiosis, the interpretation of the relationship between the discursive processes and the text or semiosis, and the explanation of the relations between the discursive practices and social processes of a sociocultural practice (ibid: 158).

Specific methods included:

- a) establishing major discourse participants by examining their representation;
- b) examining specific strategies of SELF and OTHER representation such

as referential, evaluative strategies, and finding out specific strategies of social actors representation after Van Leeuwen (1996);

c) identifying conceptual devices through which the established strategies are re-enacted, such as conceptual blends, conceptual and discursive metaphors and conceptual frames;

d) positioning the study against the framework of Discourse Space Theory (Chilton 2004) by constructing and explaining a discourse space ontology for the campaign analyzed .

As in Chapter 4, Martin and White's (2005) framework is used for the discussion of evaluative strategies. Statistical data is collected and analyzed according to the same principles, as they are described in Chapter 4 (Section III).

6.4. Results and discussion

6.4.1. Defining Discourse Participants through Conceptual means

A presentation of most of the types of discourse participants appears in the opening paragraph of the news bulletin in Action 1:

6.1) Пересмотреть и снизить квоты на въезд в Россию трудовых мигрантов! Выдворить незаконных мигрантов на родину! Открыть в регионах России биржи труда, которые смогут обеспечить работой наших граждан, пострадавших от мирового финансового кризиса! С этими требованиями молодогвардейцы вышли пикетировать представительства Федеральной миграционной службы и офисы крупных строительных компаний в Москве, Челябинске и Новосибирске.

To review and to lower quota for the working migrants' entry to Russia! Deport illegal migrants to their home country! Open job centres which will be able to provide jobs for our citizens who have suffered from the world financial crisis! With these demands, MGER activists went out to picket offices of the Federal Migration Service and of large construction companies in Moscow, Chelyabinsk and Novosibirsk.

The self-identification молодогвардейцы 'Young Guard members' presents the subjects of the action who impose their demands on two other participants of migration discourse. On the one hand, these are представительства Федеральной миграционной службы 'representatives of the Federal migration Service', to which the demands to reduce the quotas are directed, and on the other hand, these are офисы крупных строительных компаний в Москве, Челябинске и Новосибирске 'offices of large construction companies in Moscow, Cheliabinsk and Novosibirsk', which employ foreign workers at their construction sites. The self-identification молодогвардейцы 'Young Guard members' is intended to evoke associations with the members of the original Soviet antifascist youth group active in 1942-1943 on the Nazi-occupied territory in and around Krasnodon who became immortalized following their antifascist subversive activities and heroic deaths. The activities of the members of the original youth movements became popularized through Fadeev's novel Молодая гвардия 'The Young Guard' published in 1945/51 as well as the film by Sergey Gerasimov produced in 1948. Significantly, in the further commentary of the news bulletin the self-identification молодогвардейцы 'Young Guard members' is frequently used in inverted commas to emphasise its recontextualized use and thus to show the distinction from the WWII youth movement.

There is no explanation for the use of this self-identification anywhere on the website of the youth movement; and the links between the two youth groups can only be presupposed⁵⁶. From the point of view of Conceptual Blending Theory, the cognitive identity blend молодогвардейцы 'Young Guard members' sets up an on-line conceptual blend which is based on the integration of two input spaces: a historically distant WWII space and the time space concurrent with the time of the campaign. The spaces are structured by personal identity frames and recruit other background frames at the stage of completion of a conceptual blend:

⁵⁶ The direct link between the two youth movements was discussed in a programme from the series "Nasha Pobeda" broadcast in May 2010 by the television channels «Doverie» and «Stolica» (<http://www.molgvardia.ru/mg/2010/05/11/16899>).

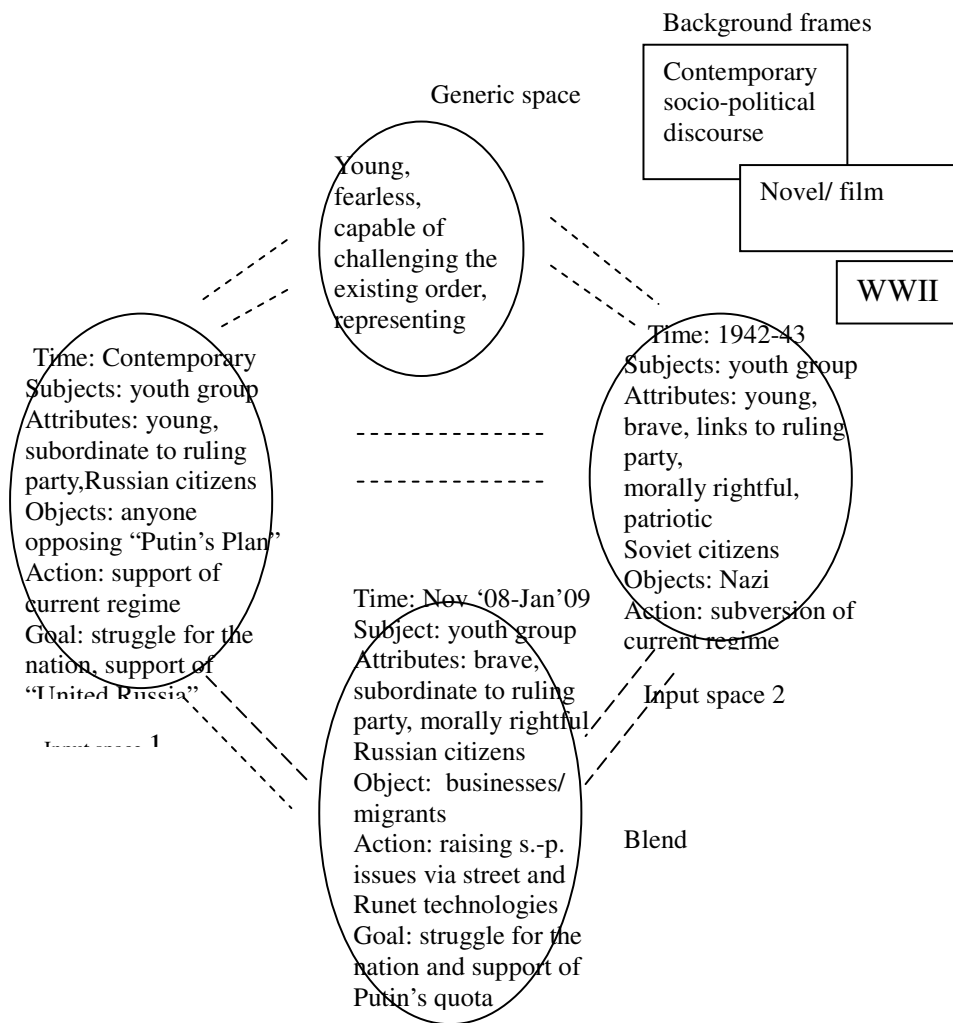


Figure 6.1. Conceptual scenario based on cognitive identity blend
 молодогвардейцы 'Young Guard members'

The timeframe in Input space 1 is contemporary to the time of the campaign, whereas Input Space 2 is constructed through the timeframe of World War II. In both spaces, the subjects are groups of young people who represent youth movements coordinated by 'elder' factions of the respective ruling parties, i.e. Единая Россия 'United Russia' and КПСС 'CPSU'. The original Young Guard members were represented both in fiction and documentaries as brave and righteous Soviet citizens fighting for the cause of liberation from Nazi troops. Their main activities were subversive actions of various types in which the adversaries were Nazi troops which were to

be physically destroyed or disabled. The contemporary Molodaia Gvardiia are, on the other hand, “fighting” by means of pickets and other smart-mob-like street actions, words and images. Their adversaries are executive power and construction businesses in the first two episodes as well as migrants in Episode 3⁵⁷. Their actions are aimed at raising various socio-political issues, such as the issue of migration during a time of economic crisis, amongst others⁵⁸. Figure 6.1 shows correspondences between the relevant elements of the two domains which are selectively projected into the blend. Generic space is presented by an idealized schema integrating the attributes of the subjects from Input Space 1 and Input Space 2, i.e. both groups are young, fearless, capable of challenging the existing order, and representing the nation’s aspirations. Background frames for World War II, knowledge of the representation of the original Молодая гвардия 'Young Guard' from fiction and film as well as contemporary socio-political context are recruited into the conceptual blend which can be run as a self-identification frame. Furthermore, additional structures such as discursive strategies are recruited into the conceptual integration network. The emergent meaning demonstrates that all of the attributes constituting the personal identity frame of the original Молодая гвардия 'Young Guard' members have been recruited into the blend, as well as an abstract-sounding goal of the struggle for the nation to create an image of brave, patriotic, righteous, subordinated Russian citizens who struggle for the ruling party policies which incorporate the nation.

Another participant in the opening frame, with whom the protagonists attempt to identify themselves, are наши граждане 'our citizens', i.e. the local population. The solidarity strategy is expressed

⁵⁷ The definition of MGER’s adversaries in one of their resolutions is extremely vague and appears as yet another case of discourse ambiguity: *“Нашими оппонентами являются все явные и скрытые силы, препятствующие реализации «Плана Путина»”* ‘Our opponents are all evident and hidden forces hindering the realization of the “Putin’s plan” (<http://www.molgvardia.ru/resolution-3>). Following this definition, the identification of adversaries is always contextually-bound.

⁵⁸ The comprehensive list of MGER’s aims and goals can be found at <http://www.molgvardia.ru/statutes>. One of the goals identified by MGER concerns an allusive “international communication”: *“создание условий для межнационального и межконфессионального общения молодежи”*. This goal can explain MGER’s interest in the issue of migration.

through the use of the 1st person possessive pronoun, which appropriates the identification from the title of the campaign Наши деньги - нашим людям 'Our money for our people' and appears in the text and on the posters to denote shared aims and values with all the Russian population.

Further discourse participants appear in the second interview taken from member of the political council of the movement Maria Sergeeva:

6.2) На акции появились провокаторы из ДПНИ. Мы еще раз подчеркиваем, что не желаем иметь ничего общего с этими экстремистами и политическими лузерами.

'Instigators from DPNI appeared at the action. We would like to emphasise again that we do not want to have anything in common with these extremists and political losers.'

Any links with DPNI, as an openly anti-migration movement, may harm the reputation of the молодогвардейцы 'the Young Guard members', and MGER attempt to distance itself from DPNI as a suspicious movement, though categorical denial. The importance of such distancing is accentuated through the use of a bold font. The categorical denial is used in Example (6.2) in the form of a face-threatening strategy (Brown and Levinson 1987) simultaneously with negatively laden characterizations провокаторы 'instigators', экстремисты 'extremists' and лузеры 'losers' aimed at constructing a negative image of their political rivals.

It is essential for the MGER movement to identify itself as a liberal, democratic and non-discriminatory movement. Therefore, categorical denial of such types appears several times in the text in connection with other participants, such as the anarchists who participated in Action 3:

(6.3) На акцию пришли провокаторы - анархисты. Они растянули баннер со словами вроде «нелегальных людей не бывает». Пытались закидать наш пикет яйцами с краской. Непрошенные гости просто решили попиариться за счет нашей акции. Их позиция несправедлива, потому что мы не разделяем людей по расовому, религиозному или любому другому признаку.

'Instigators-anarchists came to the action. They spread a banner with

the words something like “there are no illegal people”. They tried to throw eggs and paint at our picket. Unwanted guests simply decided to promote themselves at the expense of our action. Their position is unfair, because we do not classify people after racial, religious or any other characteristics.'

Once again, the categorical denial appears as a face-threatening strategy in bold print. Their use of the despecifying adverb *вроде* 'something like' demonstrates that they are trying to belittle the significance of the opposite movement. It is important for MGER to emphasise its disconnection with the ethnocentrist ideology in relation to migrants.

Finally, another migration discourse participant appears in Action 2. Prime-minister Vladimir Putin is mentioned in connection with the change in migration policy:

6.4) Лидер нашей Партии, Председатель Правительства РФ Владимир Путин поддержал эту инициативу (требования МГЕР), заявив, что квоты необходимо уменьшить как минимум на 50 процентов, и дав Правительству поручение разработать соответствующую нормативную базу.

'The leader of our Party, the Head of the Government of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin supported this initiative (the demands by MGER) by stating that the quotas should be reduced by at least 50% and by giving the directive to the Government to develop a corresponding legislative basis.'

MGER's action requires legitimization from a very authoritative source, and the protagonists refer to the statement of Vladimir Putin issued to the government in connection with the migration policy. Technically, Vladimir Putin is not a member of MGER; nevertheless, the hierarchical system of the EDRO organization implies subordination between the “adult” and the youth party. In addition to being perceived as a leader, Vladimir Putin is one of the officials with the highest category entitlement which is used for the legitimization of the whole campaign.

Migrants appear as a type of OTHER opponent whom MGER members address directly and indirectly. In Example 6.1, they are identified

through attributive descriptions as трудовые мигранты 'working migrants' and незаконные мигранты 'illegal migrants'. Thus, from the very start of the campaign, the protagonists delegitimize working migrants through the negation of their legal status which is intensified through numerous repetitions of this identification throughout all three actions of the campaign.

At first glance, it might seem that migrants are excluded from the representations of Action 1 and Action 2 in the visual corpus completely. However, although there is no direct representations of migrants, OTHER discourse participants are referred to in the visual representations of Action 1 and 2 indirectly:

- through metonyms
- through the construal of metaphorical blends
- through the construal of counterfactual blends

Van Leeuwen (1996) discusses metonymic constructions primarily in connection with strategies of objectivation. Objectivation occurs when social actors are represented by means of reference to a thing closely associated with a person to whom it belongs (ibid.: 59). In Action 1 and Action 2, objectivation occurs when migrants are represented through large soft travel bags:



Picture 6.1. Action 1 Site 1 (Moscow)



Picture 6.2. Action 1 Site 3 (Chelyabinsk)

Travel bags of this specific design have been used in the post-Soviet context for the transportation of goods, primarily clothes, to be sold in the markets. The use of such bags has gradually spread from trade workers from the local population to working migrants (баулы are cheap, light, easy to handle and repair and they can be folded when empty to save space), and now represents an integral part of migrants' identity. We can see in Pictures 6.1 and 6.2 that bags are always contrasted with MGER members. MGER members are allegedly a well organized, coordinated group; however, the bags standing for migrants are thrown together in a heap that signifies disorder and lack of coordination.

In their commentary, MGER members explain the use of bags in the following way:

- 6.5) Мы пришли туда и вручили баулы, с которыми обычно ездят незаконные мигранты... (Action 1)

'We came there and we handed over large soft bags which are usually carried by illegal migrants.'

- 6.6) Мы сделали перформанс с пустыми баулами, которыми за границу вывозятся наши деньги. Мы предложили загрузить их не деньгами, а малочисленными вещами мигрантов и отправить их к себе на родину искать работу. А рабочие места оставить для граждан России. (Action 1)

'We made a performance with empty bags which are used to take our money abroad. We suggested that they should be filled not with money but with few things belonging to migrants and that they should be sent home to look for jobs. Working places should be left for Russian citizens.'

- 6.7) «Молодогвардейцы» планировали вручить представителям УФМС баул (большую китайскую сумку с надписью «пора домой») для того, что бы нелегально живущим на территории Приморского края мигрантам было куда положить первую стопку вещей во время сборов на родину. (Action 2)

'MGER members were planning to hand over a *baul* (a large Chinese

bag with a sign “It's time to go home”) to representatives of UFMS in order for the illegal migrants living on the territory of the Primorskiy region could put their first batch of things while they are packing to go home.'

I suggest that the bags metonymically stand for migrants (instrument-for-person), thus conceptually bringing migrants into a discourse from which they seem to be excluded physically. Such visual imagery can be considered as an example of *conceptual art* installations brought into the socio-political context of Moscow Social Art groups of the 1960s to 1970s which are now widely used amongst political movements in their street campaigns. For instance, Ulrich Schmidt (2006) observed this phenomenon in the actions of Nashi and Idushie vmeste. He draws parallels between the Socialist Art installations in Moscow in the 1960s to 1970s and contemporary street actions, e.g. throwing Sorokin's books into a gigantic toilet bowl in front of the Bolshoy theatre, which was a street action organized by Idushie Vmeste in 2002. Sorokin's books were thus conceptualized as excrements. Schmidt (ibid.) notes that conceptual art of the 1960s to 1970s was based on such *semantic gestures* in which metaphorical interpretations were widely employed for ideological purposes.

Verbally, migrants are referred to metonymically as иностранная рабочая сила 'foreign workforce' throughout the corpus. In this metonym, which appears as a habitual characterization for migrants lacking in ethnic connotations, physical force as part of workers' identity stands for person.

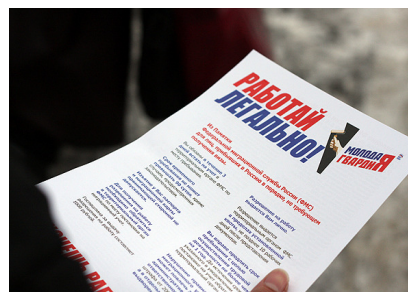
Physical force is an important way of alluding at migrants' professional occupation. *Functionalization*, i.e. indication of their mostly physical occupation, in OTHER representations is mediated mostly indirectly a) verbally through words on the posters b) visually through images on the posters, c) multimodally through the combination of both and d) through the choice of *sites of engagement* (Scollon 2001). Verbally the functionalization is implied through the verb Построить 'to build' in the poster Построим мост своими руками 'Let us build the bridge with our own hands' and through the noun стройка 'construction site' in the poster

Порядок на стройке - порядок на улице ‘Order at the construction site is order in the street’. The implied OTHER representations functionalize migrants as builders or simply workers at construction sites. The choice of sites of engagement, such as construction companies' offices or a baker's shop, along with other mediational means, help MGER to create OTHER representations which realize occupational profiles ascribed to migrants as trades persons, i.e. builders and bakers.

The images on the posters in Picture 6.3 and 6.4 are self-suggesting with regard to the multimodal representation of migrants' professional occupation:



Picture 6.3. Action 2 Site 1 (Moscow)



Picture 6.4. Action 3 Site 1

In Picture 6.4, OTHER functionalization is realized through the visual representation of a decorator's hand with a roller, i.e. metonymically part-of-the-body-for-person and tool-for-person. Picture 6.3 gives an example of multimodal functionalization. On one poster in Picture 6.3, the demand is expressed through the words *Каждый второй – домой* ‘Every second one – home’ where the subject is deliberately *suppressed* verbally (Van Leeuwen 1996). Visually, however, OTHER discourse participants appear as replicated schematic pictures of a road. The presence of a numerical image on the nearby poster transfers visual images into a proposition which is verbally expressed in the corpus on numerous occasions: “The number of migrant workers must be reduced by 50%”.

Interestingly, the choice of colour schemes for the posters in the two above pictures is different. Whereas the posters demonstrated during Action 2 use black both for the images and the script and red to emphasise the most salient word in their proposition, the colour scheme for the information

sheets uses the national colours. Here, the national colours are used as a self-identification strategy that is supposed to activate socio-political attributes of citizenship. However, it appears that the issue of design is more important for MGER than the actual message conveyed through colours. For instance, it would be logical to place emphasis through use of the colour red on *легально* 'legally' rather than *работай* 'work!', as, according to MGER's previous statements, they are preoccupied with the reduction of the number of illegal migrants and providing the local population rather than migrants with jobs. Furthermore, the arrangement of national colours on the national flag suggests that the top element of the phrase *Работай легально* 'Work legally' will be in blue and the bottom one will be in red. However, it seems that the preoccupation with aesthetic features of the image is more important at this stage than the actual ideological content of their intended message.

It is rather symptomatic for MGER to use a combination of verbal, visual and conceptual devices as a strategy of OTHER negativization. Extremely negative associations can be evoked through the construction of specific conceptual scenarios through visual means, as in Picture 6.5:



Picture 6.5. Action 3 Site 1 (Moscow)

In Chapter 5 we saw that counterpart connections between migrants and criminals can be established through the construal of the discourse metaphor Migrant Is Criminal. In Picture 6.5, a poster shows perpendicular lines which in the presence of associations with criminality constructed through

the discourse metaphor Migrant Is Criminal can evoke a conceptual frame of imprisonment. The lines, which are reminiscent of prison bars (grid), trigger the construal of a counterfactual situation where the migrants, who MGER is confronting at the stations, are criminals and they are behind bars(grid). MGER does not explain the use of this specific image anywhere in their corpus, but nevertheless, there is an abundance of OTHER representations that criminalize migrants. The conceptual scenario construed through the image on the poster in Picture 6.5 can be represented schematically as follows:

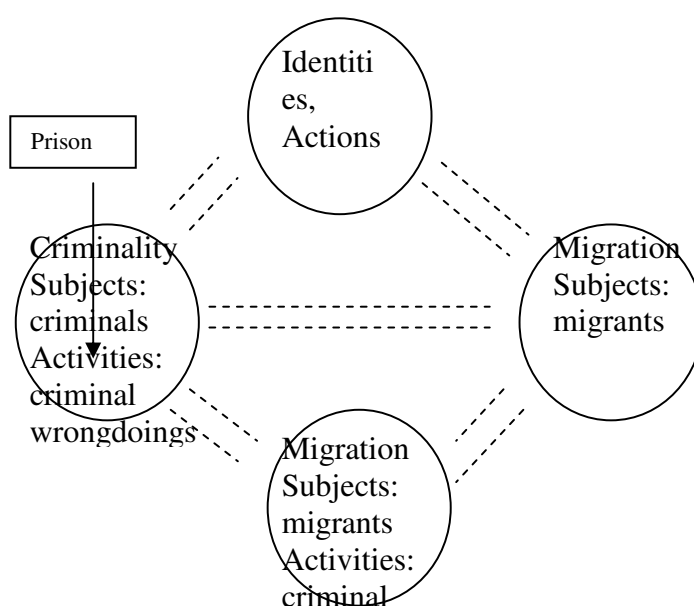


Figure 6.2. Conceptual blend for the image in Picture 6.5

One input space is organized by the frame Migration with migrants as subjects arriving by trains in the real space, another input space is organized by the frame criminality with criminals as subjects and yet another between whom the counterpart connection is presupposed by the image in Picture 6.5. The connection between criminals and prison bars in the frame Criminality is metonymical, i.e. prison bars which stand for imprisonment (yet another metonymical connection) are regarded as an effect of criminal activities. The emergent meaning in the blend is based on the projection of such elements as criminal activities and prisons along with the counterpart identity connection migrants/criminals into the blended space.

Another negative scenario, which is based on a conceptual blend, is represented in Picture 6.6 and 6.7.

It makes use of the discourse metaphor Migration is Conflict, which is evoked through the images of burning cars on the posters under the title Париж 2005 'Paris 2005':



Picture 6.6. Action 2 Site 1 (Moscow)



Picture 6.7. Action 2 Site 1 (Moscow)

The images of burning cars are perceived as coercive by MGER participants themselves. In Picture 6.6 we see how some MGER members attempt to hide their faces understanding the aggressiveness of such images (more in the section on Evaluative strategies). The use of such disturbing images was commented on by MGER in the following way:

- 6.8) Вместе с лозунгами молодогвардейцы держали в руках фото парижских беспорядков и погромов 2005 года, чтобы наглядно продемонстрировать чиновникам, к чему может привести промедление с принятием решения о сокращении мигрантских квот.

'Together with the slogans, MGER members held a picture of Parisian disorders and pogroms of 2005 in order to demonstrate to civil servants what can be a result of the prolongation of the decision taking on the reduction of migrant quotas.'

- 6.9) Михаил Кудрявцев, *активист МГЕР*: - Погромы на улицах пригородов Парижа осенью 2005 года показали нам, насколько серьезно необходимо подойти к проблемам миграционной политики. Хотим ли мы повторения подобных событий уже на улицах российских городов? Конечно же, нет! Поэтому, мы, «Молодая Гвардия», призываем ФМС немедленно согласовать

квоты на въезд для рабочих мигрантов с Правительством РФ и ужесточить контроль их нахождения на территории России.

'Michail Kudriavtsev, MGER activist: 'Pogroms in the streets of Paris in the autumn of 2005 showed us how seriously we must address the problems of migration politics. Do we want a repetition of such events on the streets of Russian cities? Certainly, not. This is we, Molodaia Gvardia, appeal to/ urge the FMS to immediately coordinate migrant entry quotas with the government of the Russian Federation and to make the control of their stay on the territory of the Russian Federation more rigorous.'

Both examples help reconstruct the emergent meaning in the blend. The images on the posters can call to mind a counterfactual scenario that results in the construal of a *counterfactual blend* (Fauconnier and Turner 2002). As we saw in Chapter 5, analysis of conceptual blends offers an original interpretation of emergent meanings in metaphoric expressions in migration discourse. Conceptual blending analysis can be applied to a wider range of phenomena, such as counterfactuality. Counterfactuality is defined by Conceptual Blending Theory as a forced incompatibility between spaces in a network (Fauconnier and Turner 2002: 218). The construction of counterfactual blends is by no means restricted to counterfactual “If I were you, then I would...” sentences, but has to do with counterfactual reasoning, i.e. the construction of counterfactual scenarios through conceptual integration. First of all, the phrases *парижские беспорядки и погромы 2005 года* ‘Parisian confrontations and pogroms of the year 2005’ and *Погромы на улицах пригородов Парижа осенью 2005 года* ‘Pogroms in the streets of Parisian suburbs in the autumn 2005’ establish one input space, which indicates the location as Paris, timeframe as the autumn of 2005 and the events. Another input space is constructed in the location *на улицах российских городов* ‘in the streets of the Russian towns’ which is implied through the situation context in Example (6.8) and through the events explicitly named in Example (6.8) and alluded to in Example (6.9). The conceptual integration network constructed by these posters contains the spaces Disturbances in Paris in 2005 and Migration in Russia in the future:

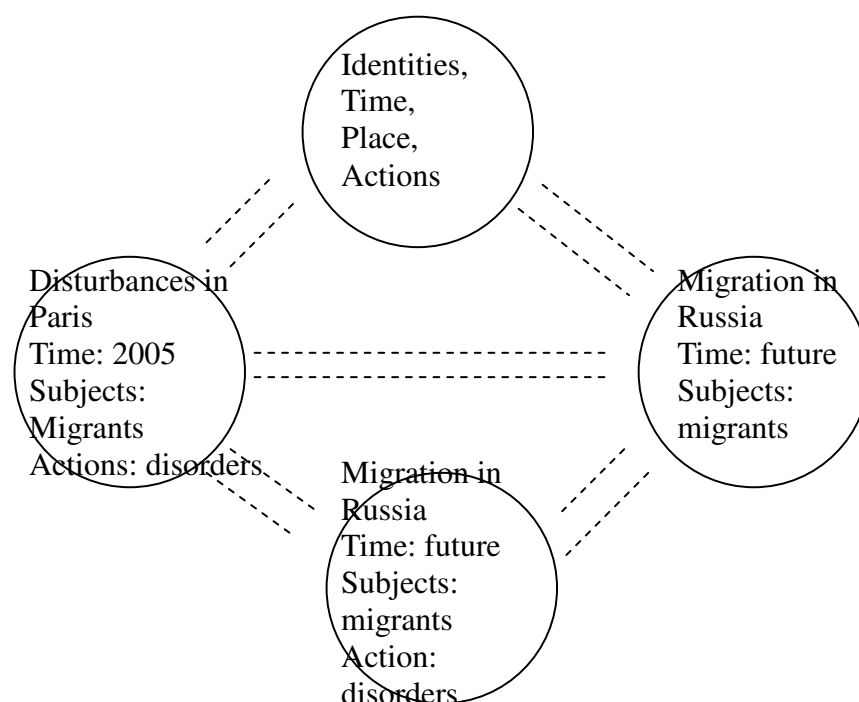


Figure 6.3. Counterfactual blend for the image in Picture 6.6

The conceptual blend integrates disturbances in Paris in the past (source domain) and a future migration context in Russia (target domain). Counterpart connections are established through source and target domain by comparing the non-native participants of the Parisian riots to the non-native working migrants in Russia. The emergent meaning in the blend contains the counterfactual statement ‘If the situation with migration in Russia continues as it is, Russia is running the danger of having interethnic riots on the scale of Paris.’ The Migration space contains associations and memories of the interethnic clashes in Kondopoga in 2006 which can also be recruited into the blend, as well as the discourse metaphor “Migration is Conflict” (see Chapter 5). The counterfactuality of such types can be labelled as *reductio ad absurdum* (Fauconnier and Turner 2002:234), following the form of argument in which a proposition is disproved by following its implications to a logical but absurd consequence: “The general goal of reductio is to show a catastrophe in the blend, which we can avoid by rejecting the assumption, [...] the catastrophe can simply be an

undesirable consequence”. (ibid:234). In the sociopolitical context, it means that the catastrophe, i.e. undesirable consequences, can be avoided, if the regulatory organs or legal agents reject their current policy which they are striving to implement in the future.

Finally, the tendency to evocation of the discourse metaphor NATION IS HOUSE triggered by the frequent use of the verbal phrase выдворить из страны ‘to throw out of the country’ especially in Action 2:

6.10) Мы выступаем за выдворение тех из них, кто не имеет соответствующего разрешение на ведение трудовой деятельности в России.

'We advocate the deportation of those who do not have a relevant permit to conduct a working practice in Russia.'

6.11) Мы считаем это в том числе и своей победой и повторно обращаемся к ФМС с требованием не затягивать с исполнением этой инициативы, а также - создать совместные патрули по выявлению нелегальных трудовых мигрантов и их выдворению из страны», - заявил заместитель начальника Центрального штаба «Молодой Гвардии Единой России» Владимир Бурматов.

'We and we again would like to present the Federal Migration Service with a demand not to prolong the execution of this initiative, and also – to create joint patrols in order to identify illegal working migrants and to deport them from the country', said Vladimir Burmatov, Deputy Head of MGER Central Staff

The findings discussed in Chapter 5 demonstrated that HOUSE metaphors appear as dominant metaphors in migration discourse and are the most frequent metaphors to negativize migrants. Although the verb выдворить ‘to deport, to throw out’ and the noun выдворение ‘deportation, throwing out’ seems to represent a dead metaphor, it retains its negative associations with the patient of the action, i.e. migrants.

6.4.2. Discursive Strategies of SELF and OTHER representation

6.4.2.1. Referential strategies

In the photographs, MGER members are represented as a collective organization with a clear distinction between grass roots members, i.e. активисты 'activists', and leaders. This is the major difference between the youth movement and migrants. If MGER members are represented in the photographs as a group, it is most frequently through the strategy of *collectivization*:



Picture 6.8. Action 1 Site 1 (Moscow)



Picture 6.9. Action 3 Site 3 (Novosibirsk)

In Picture 6.8, a leader is orchestrating an action in Moscow whereas grass roots members are subordinated to the leader who is physically separated from them. The fact of representing the leader separately is also used to mark the hierarchy and to emphasise the inscription of the movement into Putin's vertical of power. The collectivization strategy is made explicit through coordinated actions, i.e. holding posters, the demonstration of group allegiance through the party emblem on the banners, and through the close physical positioning of MGER members with respect to each other. The visual representations stress the importance of collectivization through *framing* (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2001), i.e. the way that MGER activists as elements of visual composition are connected.⁵⁹ As we see in Picture 6.8, it is essential for the author to show a continuous line of MGER activists or

⁵⁹ “...the way elements of visual composition may be disconnected, marked off from each other, for instance by framelines, pictorial framing devices [...], empty spaces between elements, discontinuities of colour and so on. [...]” The concept also includes “the ways in which elements of a composition may be connected to each other through the absence of disconnection devices [...] .The significance is that disconnected elements will be read as, in some sense, separate and independent, perhaps even as contrasting units of meaning, whereas connected elements will be read as belonging together in some sense, as continuous or complimentary.” (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2001:2)

them being connected through other mediational means, e.g. posters as connecting devices between two or more MGER members (see also other photographs in this chapter).

The strategy of collectivization visible from the photographs appears in contrast with the brand of individualization projected through the graphic emphasis on the first person singular personal pronoun Я 'I' visible on the banners, i.e. Закон и порядок, and the official logo of the movement Молодая гвардия. Shcherbak (2009) comments on the change of the emphasis from the individual, which appeared in the post-Soviet period, to the collective in youth organizations in around 2005, i.e. the year when MGER appeared on the political arena, as one of the effects of the change from the pluralist model to the neocorporativist model (Zudin 2001). In Shcherbak's view, one of the features of this neocorporativist model is that the new youth organizations started to replace the principles of individual success with the principles of collectivism. However, as we see from Picture 6.9, the new collective appropriates and projects different types of values from the Soviet collectives. This observation is in line with the suggestion put forward by Cassidey and Johnston (2010) that elements of the Soviet culture are not simply appropriated but they are reinterpreted in the contemporary regime. The participants of the action are taking their own photographs after the action as a 'branded' collective. However, there are virtually no symbolics, no banners or props to help us to identify the purpose of the action in Picture 6.9. In this picture, they are represented as a collective of young and cheerful individuals who have just completed their 'job'. However, now they have returned to their normal lives with elements of socialising and fun, discussing the event but simultaneously promoting their brand. This makes it similar to smart-mob or polit-mob actions conducted by other pro-governmental groups, moving away from the Soviet-type collective (cf. Lassila 2011).

The protagonists deliberately appropriate the Russian national colours, i.e. white, red and blue, in their party symbolics due to the values of

patriotism and democracy that are attached to national colours⁶⁰. Kress and Van Leeuwen (2001) emphasise the potential of colour as a mode for articulating discourses (ibid:27) and say that values can be attached to colours (ibid.:25): “Colour is a semiotic mode, and certainly so in specific domains of practice” (ibid.:59). Association with other culturally salient aspects and their meaning in a culture gives emotional effects, such as patriotism, pride in their nation, and pride in their party and party leaders in the above examples.

Furthermore, the MGER identity is mediated through the use of identical uniform-like coats, jackets, baseball caps, bandannas, and scarves featuring national colours, as well as identical or similar posters in all three episodes and at all sites. In the verbal corpus, the strategy of collectivization is usually expressed through the use of characterizations in Plural, for example *молодогвардейцы* (Example 6.1), and *активисты* 'activists', as well as 1st person personal and possessive pronouns used for anaphoric or exophoric reference in the direct speech from the interviews with MGER members (Examples 6.2-6.6).

The combination of individualization and collectivisation seems to provide an obvious discrepancy in MGER’s SELF representation. However, this discrepancy can be easily explained by the suggestion that the emphasis of the individual is provided “from above” as a brand, which the young people react to in their own way. They clearly hesitate to take individual responsibility for their words or actions, preferring anonymous “collective we” statements. When a strategy of individualization is realized in the verbal corpus, it is combined with nomination and functionalization, i.e. the interviews given by some party activists or leaders are preceded by the indication of their names and role in the party, as well as frequently their photograph, e.g.: *Андрей Татаринов, заместитель начальника Центрального Штаба «Молодой Гвардии Единой России»* ‘Andrey Tatarinov, deputy head of MGER’s Central Staff’ , *Максим Руднев,*

⁶⁰ The appropriation of the national colours for the party symbolics coincides with the same strategy used by Единая Россия 'United Russia' which demonstrates both ideological and hierarchical reciprocity of the two movements.

активист «Молодой Гвардии Единой России» 'Maxim Rudnev, MGER activist'. The strategy of functionalization is applied to indicate MGER's members' positions within the party, as their occupational identity outwith their political function becomes concealed. It will be demonstrated later in this chapter that MGER activists use various ways to conceal their individual identities specifically in face-threatening situations, such as Action 2.

With respect to their role allocation, both in the visual and in the verbal corpus MGER, members are represented as endowed with active roles. It is lexically expressed through the self-identification активисты 'activists'. The strategy of activation occurs when social actors are represented as the active, dynamic forces in an activity (Van Leeuwen 1996: 33). In the photographs representing Action 1, MGER members are chanting, addressing other discourse participants, specifically the authorities and construction companies using demands, appeals, criticisms, offers etc. The verbal corpus demonstrates that the most frequently used speech functions (Fairclough 2003:105)⁶¹ with respect to MGER's speech activity are Demand (Examples 6.12 and 6.13) and Offer (Examples 6.14 and 6.15) where MGER members demonstrate their engagement and active standing on the issue of migration:

- 6.12) Мы призываем ФМС не увеличивать в два раза квоту на въезд для трудовых мигрантов.
'We appeal to/ urge FMS not to increase the working migrants' entry quota by two times.'
- 6.13) Также мы призываем ...
'We also appeal/ urge...'
- 6.14) Мы выдвинули свое предложение...
'We have put forward our suggestion'

⁶¹ Fairclough (2003) identifies Statements, Questions, Demands and Offers as four primary *speech functions*, which can be subdivided into secondary speech acts, e.g. Offer would include promising, threatening, apologizing, thanking, and Demand would include ordering, requesting, begging etc. Statements are subdivided into 'realis', 'irrealis' and evaluations.

- 6.15) Наоборот, мы предлагаем эту квоту свести к минимуму или приостановить выдачу виз трудовым мигрантам сроком на год.

'On the contrary, we suggest that this quota should be reduced to a minimum or the allocation of working migrants' visas should be stopped for a year.'

We see that Demand is mitigated in Action 1 through reformulating it as Appeal or Urge, as in Examples 6.12 and 6.13.

In Action 2, Demand is direct and often reinforced through the verbs/ verbal phrases настаиваем 'insist', потребовали 'demanded' , выразили свое несогласие 'expressed their disagreement':

- 6.16) Мы настаиваем на сокращении квот, а лучше – закрытии границ России для въезда трудовых мигрантов в 2009 году.

'We insist on the reduction of quotas, or, what is better, the closure of the Russian borders for the working migrants in 2009.'

- 6.17) Участники пикета потребовали закрыть границы России для трудовых мигрантов на 2009 год, освободив тем самым рабочие места для российских рабочих, и принять соответствующие законодательные акты.

'The participants of the picket have demanded to close the borders of Russia for working migrants in 2009, which would vacate working places for Russian workers, and to issue relevant legislative acts.'

- 6.18) «МОЛОДАЯ ГВАРДИЯ» НАСТАИВАЕТ НА СКОРЕЙШЕМ СОКРАЩЕНИИ КВОТЫ НА ВЪЕЗД ТРУДОВЫХ МИГРАНТОВ

'Molodaia Gvardiia insists on the fastest reduction of working migrants' entry quotas.'

- 6.19) Активисты выразили свое несогласие с политикой Федеральной миграционной службы, которая заявила, что в следующем году возможно увеличение квоты на ввоз иностранной рабочей силы в несколько раз. В свою очередь, молодые люди потребовали «низить эту квоту на 50%.

'The activists have expressed their disagreement with the politics of the Federal Migration Service, which announced a possible manifold

increase of the quota for the import of the foreign work force. In their place, the young people demanded that the quota should be reduced by 50%.'

In Examples (6.16) and (6.18), the rigorous demands are introduced through the verb настаивать 'to insist'. Statements (6.17) and (6.19) are pure demands, which help to sustain the face-threatening situation in Action 2.

Action 3 demonstrates a change of activity. This time, MGER directly confronts migrants arriving at the train stations from their home countries and passing through the picket of MGER activists. The main speech function is identified by MGER in the verbal description of the action as an Offer masked as information which is addressed to migrants:

- 6.20) Молодогвардейцы раздавали прибывшим гастарбайтерам информационную памятку, в которой были изложены их обязанности по регистрации в ФМС, с адресами районных и окружных отделений

'MGER members were distributing an information leaflet among the arriving gastarbeiters. The leaflet stated their registration obligations, and the addresses of FMS's district and precinct departments.'

- 6.21) ...кроме лозунгов, мы приносим на вокзалы памятки, в которых подробно описано, где и как иностранный гражданин может встать на учет, какие он при этом получает права и обязанности.

'Apart from slogans, we are bringing leaflets to the stations, which describe in detail where and how a foreign citizen can register and what rights and obligations they receive through the registration.'

- 6.22) Приезжие, выходя из поезда, с удовольствием брали нашу памятку.
'The arriving people when leaving the train were taking our leaflets with pleasure.'

Despite their allegedly welcoming position and positive appearance along with the description of positive reception of their action on the part of migrants (Example 6.22), the photographs demonstrate that MGER members and their action are perceived as alarming by the migrants:



Picture 6.10. Action 3 Site 1 (Moscow) Picture 6.11. Action 3 Site 1 (Moscow)

The arriving migrants, who in the photographs always appear contrasted to MGER members in the background, while passing through the picket appear estranged and apprehensive in the above pictures. It is obvious that they distrust the slogans and the supposedly friendly intentions of MGER members who distribute information sheets but also demonstrate banners and chant slogans that allude to the possible illegal status of the arriving migrants and communicate threatening demands.

Contrary to the strategy of *nomination* that is realized in SELF representation, migrants are represented through the strategy of *genericization*, i.e. as a group, but not as a collective. Whereas all MGER interviewees are identified by their names, none of the migrants' names is mentioned. In most pictures, they are represented as a group with no clear aims and goals. When migrants are singled out, however, as in Picture 6.10 and 6.11, they are always contrasted with MGER members with the latter displaying a friendly and knowledgeable attitude. Migrants, on the other hand, appear distanced and baffled.

In the verbal corpus, the strategy of genericization is realized through the use of plural мигранты (frequently qualified as нелегальные мигранты), иммигранты, нелегалы, приезжие, граждане других государств. All characterizations for migrants are very general and the strategy of nomination is never applied to migrants. Alternatively, an abstracted singularized reference миграция (frequently qualified as нелегальная миграция) is used for migrants, i.e.:

- 6.23) Для этого необходимо не только снизить квоты на въезд мигрантов, но и бороться с нелегальной иммиграцией,

«сбивающей цены» на рынке труда.

'In order to do this, it is necessary not only to reduce migrant entry quotas, but also to fight the illegal migration, which “takes down” prices on the job market.'

In Example (6.23), the process-for person reference also appears as an example of personification of the process of migration which acts like a human being and is qualified as «сбивающей цены» 'driving the prices down', i.e. produces an action associated with a seller in the COMMERCIAL EVENT frame.

6.4.2.2. Evaluative strategies

As was demonstrated by the findings in the previous chapters, there is a strong tendency for positive SELF evaluation and negative OTHER evaluation in the analyzed corpus collected in 2006/07. In this section, evaluative strategies are regarded as a separate sub-type which can be used to amplify the communicative effect of all strategies, i.e. referential, (de)legitimizing and distancing/ solidarity. It is also practical to analyze evaluative strategies in order to find points of reference for the construction of a modal (axiological) axis in the discourse space ontology for the whole campaign as was done in Chapter 4. As CDA practitioners do not offer a principled way of investigating evaluative strategies, evaluative strategies of SELF and OTHER representation in this section will be analyzed through the framework of the Appraisal theory (Martin 2000, Martin and White 2005) which was introduced in Chapter 4 (Section II).

In what follows, I will explore three dimensions of evaluation:

- which values are encoded through evaluative representations;
- whether participants/ authors display preferences for expressing feelings (Affect) or judging behaviour (Judgement);
- semiotic and conceptual devices that participants use to realize the evaluative strategies.

The analysis of evaluative strategies of SELF representation in the campaign demonstrates that the protagonists, i.e. MGER members, prefer to judge their behaviour positively. Hence, positive evaluation through Judgement is the preferred evaluative strategy in SELF representation. Judgement encompasses meanings which serve to evaluate human behaviour positively and negatively by reference to a set of institutionalised norms (Martin 2000). From the discussion on referential strategies, we established that Judgement of *social esteem* can be seen in the attempt to represent MGER members as a coordinated and organized collective of like-minded young persons. The Appraisal theory identifies this aspect as judging *capacity* of participants. Furthermore, the analysis of the conceptual blend set up by the self-identification молодогвардейцы represents another strategy of Judgement of social esteem, i.e. judging *tenacity* (ibid.), which is realized through the evocation of the attribute “brave” in the SELF personal identity frame. One extract from the news bulletin describing Action 1 evokes this attribute by depicting a confrontation between the activists and security services of a construction company in front of which the picketing took place:

6.24) Службой охраны было задержано 6 активистов, в отношении которых применялась физическая сила. Некоторые ребята получили по ребрам. Удары наносились в область живота.

'The security guards also detained 6 activists who were applied physical force. Some members have been beaten on their ribs. The blows were made into the area of the abdomen.'

Another positive SELF evaluation is the MGER's judgement of the success of their campaign on the Russian political arena. It is useful to remind ourselves that in November 2008, i.e. between Episode 1 and 2 of the campaign, the Prime Minister Vladimir Putin urged the government to reduce the quotas for migrant workers by 50%. There is a threefold reference to this fact in the commentary to Action 2:

- 6.25) Мы считаем политическим успехом то, что удалось инициировать дискуссию в обществе и вынести этот сложный вопрос на обсуждение в органах власти.

'We consider it a political success that we were able to initiate a discussion in the society and to introduce this difficult question for discussion in the governmental authorities.'

- 6.26) «Молодая Гвардия» считает это, в том числе, и своей политической победой.

'Molodaia Gvardiia considers it as also their own political victory.'

- 6.27) Мы считаем это в том числе и своей победой и повторно обращаемся к ФМС с требованием не затягивать с исполнением этой инициативы.

'We consider this as also our victory and we again would like to present the Federal Migration Service with a demand not to prolong the execution of this initiative.'

It is clear that it is extremely important for MGER to appear as a successful actor in political discourse, which is expressed through the nouns успех 'success' (6.25) and победа 'victory' (6.26) – (6.27), as being successful equals being held in high social esteem and gaining credibility amongst more powerful political players. The value system that this judgement is based on revolves around personal success, recognition and achievement. It becomes obvious from these statements that MGER members imagine themselves as operating at and influencing the highest level of authority.

All further judgements appear to be those of social sanction, and this social sanction has to do with *veracity* (how truthful someone is) and *propriety* (how ethical someone is). A variety of lexical items is employed to realize these types of judgements. In Example (6.28), MGER members explicitly evaluate their behaviour as caring, emphasising that they care about not only the local population but also about migrants:

- 6.28) Мы заботимся о судьбе как наших российских рабочих, так и самих незаконных мигрантов.

'We care about the lives of both our Russian workers and illegal migrants.'

The meaning expressed by the verb заботиться 'to care' is perceived as a positive characteristic of whoever the agent of the action is, i.e. MGER activists.

Example (6.29) shows that a demonstration of such caring attitude requires a combination of Judgement and Affect/ Emotion as evaluative strategies:

6.29) Мы говорим исключительно о законе, о легальном пребывании иностранных рабочих на территории России, о легальном труде. Это нужно не только нашей экономике, но и самим приезжим, чтобы не жить больше в ужасных условиях на правах рабов в строительных бараках, чтобы не получать нищенские зарплаты.

'We are talking exclusively about law, about the legal residence of foreign workers on the territory of Russia, about legal work. This is necessary not only for our economy, but also for the migrants themselves, so they do not live in awful conditions as slaves in builders' cabins, and so they do not receive starvation wages.'

As in previous chapters, in order to construct a positive SELF representation, the protagonists stir up emotions by describing migrants in a compassionate way as if they are sympathizing with their life and work situation thus appending their personal identity frame by the attribute "caring".

On another occasion MGER members again express their allegedly caring attitude towards migrants:

6.30) ... мы предлагаем выдать им пустые баулы, чтобы мигрантам было удобнее собираться домой.

'... we suggest that empty bags should be given to them so that it was easier for them to pack their things preparing to go home.'

Example (6.30) demonstrates one of several explanations for the use of bags. The bags appear in the role of an accessory tool facilitating a migrant's departure. MGER activists attempt to activate the value "caring towards migrants" in their SELF-representation: чтобы мигрантам было

удобнее «so that the migrants feel more comfortable».

The caring attitude of MGER members towards the local population is conveyed through a variety of linguistic means and rhetorical topoi, all of which refer to the contemporary economic crisis and its effect on the local population:

- 6.31) Наши предложения - в экономических интересах граждан России, в интересах их безопасности, трудовых и социальных прав.

'Our suggestions are in the economical interests of Russian citizens, in the interests of their security, working and social rights.'

- 6.32) ...говоря о том, что во время финансового кризиса даже российским рабочим негде работать.

'... talking about the fact that during the financial crises even Russian workers have nowhere to work.'

- 6.33) Мы хотим, чтоб во время мирового финансового кризиса деньги доставались российским гражданам. Естественно, мы заинтересованы в благосостоянии нашей страны. Мы не хотим в тяжелые для нас времена кормить другие страны.

'We would like that during the financial crisis the Russian citizens get the money. Obviously, we are interested in the welfare of our country. We do not want to feed other countries in the times which are difficult for us.'

- 6.34) С тех пор как мы первый раз обратились к ФМС с требованием снизить квоты на въезжающих в Россию трудовых мигрантов и отдавать приоритет прежде всего российским рабочим, многие из которых из-за последствий финансового кризиса остаются без работы, прошел месяц.

'Since we for the first time addressed the FMS with the demand to reduce the quotas for the migrants entering Russia and to give priority to, first of all, Russia workers, many of whom lose their jobs because of the effects of the financial crisis, a month has passed.'

Examples (6.31) to (6.34) point to the economic crisis as a justification of MGER's actions and it is seen as an additional resource of legitimization in

the eyes of the local population of the Russian Federation. The effect of the economic crisis is described as a lack of employment in Examples (6.31) and (6.32) or prosperity in Examples (6.33) and (6.34). The expression of their caring attitude towards the local population is a strategy of SELF evaluation which MGER employs in the commentary to Action 3 to rectify their own positive image in the presence of face-threatening posters and slogans in Action 2.

Finally, in considering Judgement, it may be useful to turn our attention to the role of modality. Martin (*ibid.*:156) notes that all types of judgement, i.e. capacity, tenacity, veracity and propriety) are related to modality (Halliday 1994), in the following propositions – capacity is to ability as tenacity is to inclination, as veracity is to probability, as propriety is to obligation. Fairclough (2003:166) suggests that modality is important in identity construction and modality choices in texts can be seen as a part of the process of texturing self-identity, because the degree of commitment to what a speaker/ writer says tells what the speaker/ writer believes about the world⁶². It is especially relevant for my research because it helps identify specific values conveyed by MGER. Fairclough (*ibid.*) emphasises the link between evaluations and statements with deontic modality as such statements imply whether certain actions are regarded as desirable or good or, on the contrary, undesirable or bad (*ibid.*:173). In the examples below, deontic modality is expressed through archetypal markers of modality, i.e. modal verbs and predicates:

6.35) Мы в первую очередь должны накормить наше население, которому во время кризиса и так не очень легко.

'We need to feed our population who are not doing so well during the crisis.'

6.36) Но почему мы должны кормить чужие государства?
'But why do we have to feed other states?'

⁶² Modality is traditionally divided into epistemic (how things are) and deontic (how things should be) and it is often used for the construction of power relations in discourse (Fairclough 2003: 167)

- 6.37) В связи с мировым финансовым кризисом мы считаем, что крупные строительные компании прежде всего должны предоставлять рабочие места нашим гражданам.

'In connection with the financial crises, we believe that large construction companies must, first of all, provide our citizens with jobs.'

- 6.38) Работодатели должны подавать заявки на привлечение иностранной рабочей силы только на те позиции, которые не заинтересовали россиян. Мигрантов, не имеющих разрешения на ведение трудовой деятельности в России, нужно выдворить из страны, ...

'The employers should submit bids for the attraction of the foreign work force for those positions which did not interest the Russians. Migrants who do not have working permits in Russia, should be deported...'

- 6.39) В непростой ситуации, вызванной мировым финансовым кризисом, нужно как можно скорее создать условия для получения россиянами новых рабочих мест.

'In the uneasy situation caused by the world financial crisis, it is necessary to create as soon as possible the conditions for the obtaining of new jobs by the Russian citizens.'

- 6.40) Нужно положить этому конец.
'It is necessary to put an end to it.'

In Examples (6.35) and (6.36) deontic modality is used by MGER to define priorities with respect to the local population. Through the 1st person personal pronoun which implies exophoric reference to the government or the ruling party, MGER establishes themselves through an assertion (6.3) and a rhetorical question (6.36) as an authoritative discourse participant who has obligations before the local population and a *rightful* discourse participant. The phrase кормить наше население 'to feed our population' in Example (6.35) evokes the discourse metaphor NATION-STATE IS FAMILY, and through the use of the modal verb the relationship of obligation between the carer, i.e. by implication the government, and the dependent, i.e. наше население, is constructed as something morally expected as part of a paternalistic frame. On the other hand, the rhetorical question in Example (6.36) poses doubts as to whether such a relationship is

justified between the carer and the no longer related dependants чужие государства ‘foreign states’. As metonymically representing the government/ the local population, MGER endows itself with power as a rightful agent, to oblige other discourse participants to produce certain actions in Examples (6.37) and (6.38). Examples (6.38) – (6.40) impersonalize such discourse participants, as MGER’s advice/obligation is expressed through the impersonal modal adverb нужно ‘one must/should/ought’. The choice of modal markers in this respect can be seen as strategic, as MGER may not want to directly name specific discourse participants in order to shift responsibility of a very strong obligation from their own persona to anonymous participants. Undoubtedly, by giving other discourse participants advice on desirable actions, MGER activists employ a strategy of *moral evaluation* (Van Leeuwen 2008) vis-à-vis their own representation. It is clear that MGER members evaluate themselves as ethical and righteous enough to give advice on socio-political matters to more powerful, even though sometimes anonymous, discourse participants.

Another evaluative dimension used by MGER for SELF evaluation has to do with construing emotional responses, or Affect, in Martin’s (2000) terms. As we see in previous examples, Judgement and Affect can be easily expressed in one proposition. Actions 1 and 2 are different with regard to the representation of MGER’s members as they construe conflicting emotions. In Action 1 and 3, the movement activists appear to perceive the action as a positive event. Their appearance and facial expressions are friendly or neutral (see Picture 6.9 and 6.11). Action 2 demonstrates a change towards an unfriendly and even an aggressive appearance projected by MGER activists and in this case the national colours amplify the negative emotional effect:



Picture 6.12. Action 2 Site 1(Moscow)



Picture 6.13. Action 2 Site 1(Moscow)

In Pictures 6.12 and 6.13, the identities of MGER members are concealed or half-concealed. They are hiding behind the posters or cover their faces with hoods, kerchiefs or bandannas. The actions are perceived as intimidating and aggressive by the participants themselves, due to the evocation of the discourse metaphor **MIGRATION IS CONFLICT**, and require numerous disclaimers of the type “We are not racists” on the part of some of MGER’s leaders:

- 6.41) Андрей Сафронов, *член Координационного Совета «Молодой Гвардии»*: Поднимая непростую тему трудовой иммиграции, мы отдаем себе отчет в неизбежности обвинений в наш адрес со всех сторон в ксенофобии. Однако, на самом деле, цели и лозунги наших акций никоим образом не затрагивают вопросы этнической принадлежности трудовых иммигрантов.

'Andrey Safronov, member of MGER's Coordination Council: 'Raising an uneasy subject of working migration, we are aware of accusations in xenophobia into our address from all sides. However, in reality, objectives and slogans of our actions in no way touch upon issues of ethnic affiliation of working migrants'.

- 6.42) Владимир Бурматов, *заместитель начальника Центрального Штаба МГЕР*: Впервые мы провели подобные акции 1 ноября прошлого года, многие нас тогда не поняли, обвинили в экстремизме и подстрекательстве к межнациональной розни, но хочу подчеркнуть, что мы выступаем против именно нелегальной миграции,...

Vladimir Burmatov, Deputy Head of MGER's Central Staff: 'We conducted such actions on November 1 of the last year, many did not understand us then and accused us of extremism and incitement of interethnic hatred, but I would like to emphasise that we act precisely against illegal migration'.

Examples (6.41) and (6.42) represent a commentary to Action 3. They show

that, similarly to the commentary to Action 1 demonstrated in Examples (6.2) and (6.3), MGER leaders consider it important to employ the strategy of categorical denial. It is indicative that in the above examples a bold face is used to emphasise the importance of the disclaimers. In example (6.41), one of the MGER leaders discusses the notion of the term ‘xenophobia’ and complains about accusations of xenophobia. He identifies xenophobia with exclusively ethnicist ideology and the main bulk of his argument is the denial of the connection between their actions and xenophobic attitudes. However, as we remember the definitions of racism discussed in Chapter 1, focus on any types of differences, not necessarily ethnic differences, and polarization of SELF and OTHER discourse participants, forms the basis of racist discourse. From this point of view, the above findings certainly demonstrate a strong presence of racist elements in SELF and OTHER representation and evaluation.

From the discussion in the previous sections we could draw a picture of a continuous negativization of migrants. The statistical data assessing OTHER evaluative characterizations in the verbal corpus shows that migrants are indeed consistently negativized in all three actions:

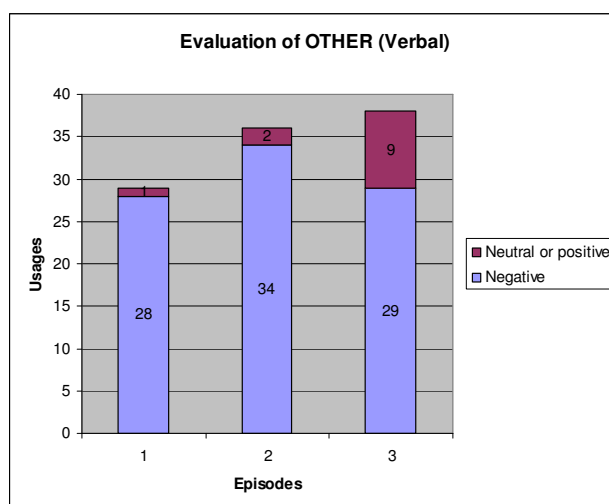


Chart 6.1. Evaluation of OTHER in Actions 1, 2 and 3 (number of usages in texts)

Chart 6.1 demonstrates that predominant OTHER negativization occurs in

all 3 actions. Action 2 demonstrates a slight increase in the number of neutral evaluations of migrants from 28, or 27.1%, to 34, or 33%, which may have to do with a criticism of the campaign on the part of migration experts and human rights activists rather than with the change of perception on the part of MGER and the subsequent mitigation strategies of OTHER characterizations. The number of neutral OTHER representations increases to 9, or 8.7%, but the number of negative OTHER representations is nearly the same as during Action 1 (29 usages, or 28.1%) In sum, the number of negative OTHER representations amounts to 88%, which comes close to the number of negative OTHER representations demonstrated in the Radical Corpus in Study 1 (see Section 4.3.4.1).

Similarly to SELF representations, the evaluative strategies of OTHER representation are based on inducing specific Emotion/Affect or producing Judgement of migrants' behaviour. The affectual realizations act to construe a negative reaction, involving insecurity, unhappiness and threat coming from the migrants, as in the statement below used to amplify the threatening potential of migrants in Action 2:

6.43) Уже сегодня мы наблюдаем повальное замораживание строительства крупных объектов, а значит завтра уже бывшие гастарбайтеры останутся без работы и возможности вернуться на родину. Не трудно предугадать их дальнейшие действия. (Action 2)

'Already today we observe epidemic freezing of large construction sites, and this means that tomorrow former guest workers will remain without a job and without a chance to go home. It is not difficult to think of their further actions.'

6.44) Мигрантов, не имеющих разрешения на ведение трудовой деятельности в России, нужно выдворить из страны, с одной стороны освободив рабочие места для граждан России, а с другой - обезопасив себя от потенциальной эскалации преступности, причиной которой могут стать безработные мигранты. (Action 2)

'Migrants who do not have working permits in Russia must be deported from the country, on the one hand, this will vacate working places for the Russian citizens, on the other hand, [we] will secure [ourselves] from the potential escalation of crime which can be

cause by unemployed migrants.'

- 6.45) То, что сегодня большинство трудовых мигрантов, занятых, к примеру, в сфере строительства не имеют права вести законную трудовую деятельность на территории России - это неправильно. Это создает массу возможностей для злоупотребления со стороны нечистых на руку работодателей, это зачастую ставит трудовых мигрантов вне закона, а иногда - и по ту сторону закона, толкая их в бездну криминала (Action 2).

'The fact that today most of the migrants working, for example, in the sphere of construction, have no right to carry out a legal working practice on the territory of Russia, is unfair. This creates lots of opportunities for the abuse on the part of unfair employers, this often puts working migrants beyond the law and sometimes, on the other side of the law, pushing them into the abyss of crime.'

Whereas in Example (6.43) insecurity and threat are only alluded to through the use of the phrase Не трудно предугадать их дальнейшие действия 'it is not difficult to foresee their further actions', Examples (6.44) and (6.45) clearly attribute the criminal potential, i.e. the cause of insecurity, unhappiness and danger experienced by the local population, to migrants. However, both the last statements are modalized, Example (6.44) through the use of the epistemic modal verb мочь 'can', and Examples (6.45) through the frequency adverb зачастую. Furthermore, Example (6.45) attributes the criminalization of migrants, i.e. disapproval from the position of social norms, as a negative effect of the actions of ill-minded employers who force migrants into criminal activities. Such verbal devices are used to tone down the face-threatening statements and can be presented as mitigating strategies of OTHER representation. These mitigating strategies contrast with explicitly negative images and conceptual blends constructed in Action 2. The same effect was observed in the analysis of the images of burning cars when the verbal commentary does not overtly name migrants as those causing the pogroms in the respective counterfactual scenarios. It can be concluded that whereas visual and conceptual imagery creates an explicitly negative OTHER representation with regard to the construal of negative emotions, the verbal commentary is used to mitigate the negative face-threatening force of such propositions.

As far as the judgement of migrants' behaviour is concerned, we can observe judgements of social sanction that have to do with veracity, i.e. how honest/dishonest or truthful/deceitful somebody is in paying or hiding taxes, and propriety, i.e. how law-abiding/ criminal somebody is. The analysis of OTHER representations with respect to social sanction demonstrates a sheer number of OTHER negative appraisals that assess them as illegal, i.e. a migrant's propriety is judged as reproachable with respect to law-abidance. The delegitimization through the criminalization of migrants is a common strategy in the corpus, primarily through their characterization as нелегалы, нелегалы, or mentioning migrants as an active force in activities harmful to society or mentioning migrants as a burden in times of economic crisis (see earlier in this Chapter).

Illegality and criminality are shown in a logical connection to each other, e.g.:

- 6.46) Также мы призываем ФМС более внимательно отнестись к проблеме незаконной миграции. Приезжие рабочие, которые живут в строительных городках и находятся без дела, - это потенциальная группа риска (Action 1).

'We also urge the FMS to pay more attention to the problem of illegal migration. The migrant workers who live in builders' towns and do not do anything – this is a potential risk group.'

The concept of illegality is elaborated in the commentary. Example (6.47) qualifies not the process of going through the borders as legal or illegal, but the manner of employment:

- 6.47) Молодогвардейцы выйдут на перроны железнодорожных вокзалов, чтобы заявить приезжающим: или работайте легально, или уезжайте обратно! [...] Мы хотим, чтобы приезжающие в Россию понимали: устраиваясь на работу нелегально, не платя налогов, они становятся простыми ворами. (Action 3)

'MGER members will go out into the platforms of railway stations in order to announce to the arriving people: work legally or go back! [...] We want that those arriving to Russia understand: if they start illegal employment without paying taxes they become simply

thieves.'

In Action 3, the migrants' activities are evaluated as illegal through the adverbs *легально / нелегально* 'legally/ illegally'. MGER members act on the assumption that the major portion of migrants will be working illegally, i.e. without a work permit. Subsequently, the quality "deceitful" can be ascribed to those who work illegally, despite the fact that the lack of registration or work permit may be caused by bureaucratic practices or miscalculations of the relevant Russian authorities. Whereas MGER's SELF representation depicts them as caring with respect not only to the local population but also to migrants, the migrant workers are represented as *opportunistic* while having taken advantage of the pre-crisis employment situation which is no longer sustainable during times of economic crisis.

6.4.2.3. SELF legitimizing strategies

Whereas OTHER discourse participants are consistently delegitimized by MGER members through evaluating them in a negative way, their own actions require legitimization. SELF legitimization is achieved by MGER activists verbally and visually through several sub-strategies which will be described in this section using selectively the framework of discursive construction of legitimation suggested by Van Leeuwen (2008). Van Leeuwen (2008) identifies four legitimizing strategies, such as 1) authorization (reference to the authority of traditions, customs, law and of persons in whom some kind of institutional authority is vested), 2) rationalization (legitimization by reference to the utility of the institutionalized action, 3) moral evaluation (legitimation through reference to value systems) and 4) mythopoesis (legitimization conveyed through narratives whose outcomes reward legitimate actions and punish non-legitimate actions). The first three legitimizing strategies are particularly relevant for my analysis.

In the previous sections, we saw some referential strategies that were applied to legitimize MGER's action. For example, the use of national

colours as an allusion to the adherence to Russian citizenship represents a legitimizing attempt aimed at emphasising their right to speak on behalf of all Russian citizens. Moral SELF evaluation, which MGER achieves through the use of modal verbs, or emphasising their good qualities (“rightful”, “caring” etc.) can serve as a legitimizing strategy, according to Van Leeuwen (2008). An attempt to show subordination and organization can be seen as the assertion of their right of organized assembly.⁶³

The strategy of *authorization* is realized through allusion to compliance with these legal norms, i.e. through reference to law. Implicit instances of authorization through a direct reference to law can be found in Examples (6.48) and (6.49) in Action 3:

6.48) Мы говорим исключительно о законе, о легальном пребывании иностранных рабочих на территории России, о легальном труде.

'We talk exclusively about law, about legal residence of foreign workers on the territory of Russia, about legal employment.'

6.49) Мы выступаем ЗА соблюдение норм действующего законодательства.

'We advocate the abidance by the norms of the current legislature.'

This authorization is generalized and employs a reference to the abstract notion of law without quoting any specific article or paragraph in the above examples. MGER members never mention any specific laws either in the slogans or in the commentary although there are numerous allusions to their knowledge of migration laws, such as the registration procedures for arriving migrants, which MGER members distributed in the train stations.

Reference to persons in whom institutional authority is vested is a frequent *authorization* strategy. The commentary to Action 1 does not contain reference to authority in the main body of the text, nevertheless,

⁶³ The right is guaranteed by Article 31 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation and a special Federal law which envisages a notification of the authorities about a picket or meeting (Federal Law № 54-ФЗ, passed on 19.06.2004, effective from 23.06.2004). At the same time, they counter anybody who attempts to criticise the government. These movements, including “Strategy 31”, are anarchists in the eyes of MGER.

opinions on the issue of migration expressed by Boris Gryzlov, Chairman of Единая Россия 'United Russia', and other major functionaries of this party, are appended as hyperlinks to the main text of the commentary. Action 2 requires more direct legitimation in the presence of face-threatening acts, and reference to Prime Minister Vladimir Putin, who in this case is a person with the strongest category entitlement, appears in the first paragraphs of the commentary:

- 6.50) В пятницу 5 декабря Владимир Путин дал поручение членам правительства России подготовить проект решения о сокращении вдвое квоты на въезд трудовых мигрантов [...] Мы призываем чиновников не медлить с указанием премьер-министра.

'On Friday December the 5th, Vladimir Putin gave instructions to the members of the government to prepare a draft of the resolution to reduce working migrants' entry quotas by half [...] We urge the civil servants not to hesitate with the direction of Prime-Minister.'

- 6.51) Сегодня активисты челябинского отделения «Молодой Гвардии Единой России» повторно вышли к зданию региональной Федеральной миграционной службы. На этот раз - для того, чтобы поддержать инициативу лидера «Единой России» Владимира Путина о снижении квот на ввоз иностранной рабочей силы в два раза, а также - чтобы предложить ФМС создавать совместные патрули, отслеживающие ситуацию

'Today, the activists of the Chelyabinsk MGER branch once again came out to the building of the regional Federal Migration Service. This time, in order to support the initiative of the "United Russia" leader Vladimir Putin about the reduction of quota on the import of foreign work force by half, and also in order to suggest to the FMS that joint patrols should be created, which would control the situation.'

- 6.52) Лидер нашей Партии, Председатель Правительства РФ Владимир Путин поддержал эту инициативу, заявив, что квоты необходимо уменьшить как минимум на 50 процентов и дав Правительству поручение разработать соответствующую нормативную базу.

'The Leader of our Party, Head of Russian government Vladimir Putin has supported this initiative announcing that quotas must be reduced by at least 50% and giving instructions to the government to

work out a relevant legal framework.'

Examples (6.51) and (6.52) show contradictory statements. In Example (6.52), MGER attribute the initiative of the quota reduction to themselves whereas Example (6.50) and (6.51) delegates the initiative to Vladimir Putin. Since MGER has been created to support the policies of Единая Россия 'United Russia' and is a part of a hierarchical party structure, it is more plausible for MGER to attribute the initiative to the leader. However, since the value system of MGER as a youth movement is based on achievement and recognition such incoherent statements can be expected. The words of the Prime-Minister are recontextualized metadiscursively to fit the structure of MGER's assertions and we cannot recognize in any of the above examples whether Putin acknowledges the role of MGER members or is simply aware of their engagement in this matter.

Another form of authorization is the use of expert opinions by MGER activists to support their action:

- 6.53) По оценкам председателя Комитета Государственной Думы по труду и социальной политике Андрея Исаева из 10-15 млн. трудовых мигрантов, работающих в России, лишь 3 млн. работают по официально выданным разрешениям. (Action 2)

'By the estimation of Head of Duma Committee on employment and social politics Andrey Isaev, out of 10-15 migrants working in Russia only 3 mln are working with valid working permits.'

- 6.54) Владимир Бурматов, заместитель начальника Центрального Штаба МГЕР: ... мы выступаем против именно нелегальной миграции, а согласно последним данным профильного комитета Госдумы, из всех иностранных граждан, работающих в России, таких 20%. (Action 3)

'Vladimir Burmatov, Deputy Head of MGER's Central Staff: 'We oppose precisely illegal migration, and, according to the latest data from a profile committee of the State Duma, these are 20% of all foreign citizens working in Russia.'

- 6.55) Андрей Сафронов, член Координационного Совета «Молодой Гвардии»: Странно отрицать очевидное - количество нелегальных трудовых иммигрантов в России исчисляется сотнями тысяч,... (Action 3)

'Andrey Safronov, Member of MGER's Coordination Committee: 'It is strange to deny the obvious – the number of illegal working migrants in Russia amounts to hundreds of thousands.'

It is only in Example (6.53) that the statistical information is attributed to a specific expert whose expertise is explicitly stated by having his credentials mentioned in connection with the statistics on the current stand of migration. In Example (6.54) the authorization is embedded into the statement by a party authority, which is strengthened through the use of double credentials: заместитель начальника Центрального Штаба МГЕР 'head deputy of MGER's Central Staff' to identify the credentials of a party leader and the actual expert authority which is identified rather vaguely as профильный комитет Госдумы 'responsible parliamentary committee'. The statistical information provided in Example (6.53) and (6.54) differs although not as dramatically as from that provided in the statement by the MGER leader Andrey Safronov in Example (6.55). The migration statistics which are different in all three cases demonstrates the incoherence and lack of coordination and that MGER leaders can hardly present their opinions as expert opinions to legitimize their action against illegal migration.

Finally, as Example (6.55) demonstrates, the campaign is legitimized by presenting such unreliable facts through the adjective очевидное 'obvious', i.e. through the strategy of rationalization. As Van Leeuwen (ibid.) states, rationalization can be theoretical, i.e. through presenting facts as normal and natural, as in Example (6.55) or instrumental, which occurs if the action is justified as purposeful or effective (ibid:113). The effect of the action was demonstrated by MGER's recognition of the quota reduction as their political success (see Examples 6.25-6.27). The purpose of each specific action is explained in the commentary:

6.56) Мы призываем чиновников не медлить с указанием премьер-министра и завершить необходимые процедуры до наступления нового года. В непростой ситуации, вызванной мировым финансовым кризисом, нужно как можно скорее создать условия для получения россиянами новых рабочих мест. (Action 2)

'We appeal to/ urge the civil servants not to hesitate with the directive of Prime Minister and to finish necessary procedures before the beginning of the new year. In an uneasy situation caused by the world financial crisis, it is necessary as soon as possible to create the condition for the receiving of new jobs by the Russian citizens.'

- 6.57) Во время остановки поезда активисты МГЕР активно общались с мигрантами, разъясняя свою позицию и раздавая всем пассажирам поезда памятку «Правила и порядок регистрации иностранных граждан на территории Российской Федерации». (Action 3)

'While the train stopped, MGER activists actively communicated with migrants, explaining their position and distributing to all train passengers the leaflet "Rules and regulations regarding the registration of foreign citizens on the territory of the Russian Federation".'

Instrumental rationalization is implicitly present in the legitimization of all of the three episodes. MGER is careful to explain in detail reasons for its involvement and specific goals it wants to achieve. In Examples (6.56) and (6.57), verbs denoting appeal, offer and opinion, as well as modal verbs, are used to introduce specific goals, such as quota reduction, attracting FMS's attention to the issue of illegal migration and the need to employ the Russian population. The presentation of goals is supported by the strategy of migrant criminalization in both episodes. In the commentary to Action 3 (Example 6.57), the goal-directedness of the campaign is sustained, but due to direct communication with migrants, the goals are more specific. The activities mentioned in Example (6.57) are communicating, explaining and informing the migrants.

6.4.2.4. SELF Solidarity strategies

Another discourse participant who has to be considered by MGER is the local community, since the implied metonymical relationship between MGER and the local population (MGER as part of the local population) has to be realized in various ways in order to have MGER's campaign accepted

by the local population. This is realized through solidarity strategies.

We saw earlier in this chapter how MGER strives to present itself as “caring” towards the local population in order to gain sympathy for their political actions. On various occasions their action is presented as being beneficial for the local population or demands and appeals are directed towards the migration-regulating authorities to curb migration from which the local population will benefit, first of all, financially (see the title of the campaign). It can be suggested that all these moves and sub-strategies are used to express solidarity with the local population to gain their support and credit for the current campaign. Two specific sub-strategies through which such solidarity is established and realized are presented in this section.

Visually, the solidarity strategy is realized through the use of national colours. Discussing the use of colours in photographs, Van Leeuwen (1996:172) comments that colours can be used to convey the *visual modality* of the image, i.e. what is considered to be true and credible in the social group for which the representation is primarily intended. “[Visual] Modality is a system of social deixis which addresses a particular kind of viewer or a particular social/cultural group through its systems of modality markers as image of the cultural, conceptual and cognitive position of the addressee.” (ibid.: 172) It can be suggested that the national colours are used as modality markers which denote group allegiance within the party on the one hand and within the national collective, i.e. the Russian nation, on the other hand. The national colours are employed in all material means used during the campaign, i.e. dress, flags, banners, information sheets. However, as noted before, the party symbolics appears to be provided as a brand “from above” and does not reflect the actual aspirations of MGER activists.

However, verbally, the solidarity strategy is realized through the use of inclusive 1st person personal and possessive pronouns. Inclusive possessive pronouns are used in the posters reiteratively, such as Наши деньги - нашим людям ‘Our money for our people’, Наша страна - наша работа ‘Our country – our jobs’. It may be a coincidence, but the same

possessive pronoun is used by another pro-governmental group Наши “Ours” for their self-identification.

1st person pronouns can be used to signify agency or as referential devices (Wilson 1990). Implicit in the use of the first person pronouns is the authority to speak on behalf of others. Pronouns are of strategic importance in political discourse because “pronouns may function communicatively to reveal various aspects of the speaker's attitudes and social standing” (Wilson 1990:46). Wales (1996) points out that the use of the “patriotic “we” co-implicates the general public by establishing the reference between the political actor who uses this pronoun and the nation in general. A more critical position to the use of the pronoun “we” is that “we” can be very well used in the service of “linguistic imperialism” to verbally annex and usurp (Wodak et al. 1999/2009:45). Strategic use of pronouns in political discourse helps political actors to act as spokesman for ordinary people.

The referents of deictic pronouns are determined by the overall context or situation if the pronouns are used exophorically. Nevertheless, sometimes a considerable ambiguity remains with regard to the referent identification. Examples below demonstrate how MGER manipulate pronouns to indicate its ideological position in migration discourse by forming an alliance with the national collective, or, rather, inviting the national collective to join its anti-migrant position.

6.58) Мы сделали перформанс с пустыми баулами, которыми за границу вывозятся наши деньги.

'We have made a performance with empty bags, which are used to take our money abroad.'

The above examples demonstrate how first person pronouns can be used as both self-referential and inclusive within one statement. In Example (6.58) the pronoun *мы* ‘we’ is unambiguously self-referential and it is used with the mental process verb *считаем* ‘consider’ and the action verb *сделали* ‘made’, i.e. the referents of the pronoun are MGER itself. The possessive pronoun *наш* ‘our’ should be seen as a nation-inclusive pronoun as the

opening passage in the commentary for Action 1, i.e. for the whole campaign identifies the contextual environment as Россия:

(6.1) ...Открыть в регионах России биржи труда, которые смогут обеспечить работой наших граждан, пострадавших от мирового финансового кризиса!...

The possessive pronoun here refers to the Russian citizens with whom the youth movement and by extension Единая Россия as a nation-wide party act as a spokesperson to the population of Russia. The choice of sites, i.e. major cities across Russia is also indicative of the fact that MGER sees their campaign as a nation-wide campaign and the local population as the potential voters for Единая Россия 'United Russia'. Hence, the demonstration of solidarity through 1st person possessive pronouns is the best way to create an emotional response through alluding to such shared characteristics as nationhood, citizenship, common living space, common history and culture etc., with the population. A positive emotional response should ultimately benefit the political party in question by gaining the nation-wide support for the proposed anti-migrant policies.

6.4.2.5. OTHER Distancing strategies

In Chapter 4, I analyzed some OTHER characterizations using identification of physical features in the verbal corpus. Categorization on the basis of identification of physical features is a distancing strategy which is also applied in Action 3 of the visual corpus. In the photographs, for the first time during the campaign actually showing OTHER discourse participants, the migrants are always juxtaposed with the 'local' MGER members, who are consistently different in their physical appearance. i.e. MGER activists are stereotypically not as dark-skinned, or as black-haired, as in Picture 6.14 (see also Pictures 6.10 and 6.11):



Picture 6.14. Action 3 Site 2 (Novosibirsk)

In Picture 6.14, a MGER activist is shown distributing information sheets amongst three migrants who may have just alighted from the train. The activist is wearing a red scarf with MGER symbolics for the purpose of self-identification. As part of the uniform, it should lend authority to the party activist in front of the migrants. For the viewer, however, the group symbolics may be not as relevant, as even without it, migrants can be distinguished with no extra effort from the MGER activist on Picture 6.14 due to the difference in phenotypic features. Pictures 6.10 and 6.11, shown earlier in this chapter, offer both characterizations through the identification of physical features and emotions evoked. Interestingly, Picture 6.11 backgrounds the female MGER activist to the point of nearly completely blurring her image. However, it is still possible to identify her physical features, fair hair, fair skin and a self-confident smile which is contrasted with the migrant's physical features and his perplexed look.

In general, any contrasts which MGER members focus upon as outlined in the previous strategies can be interpreted as distancing strategies. These contrasts are present both in the visual and verbal corpus, and they concern such aspects as identification, or *categorization* (Van Leeuwen 1996), by nationality and physical features, emotions, judgements of social esteem and social sanction:

SELF	OTHER
<i>Identification</i>	

<i>Nationality:</i> Russian citizens	non-Russian citizens
<i>Physical features:</i> fair-haired, fair-skinned	dark-haired, dark-skinned
<i>Evoked emotions</i> positive, friendly (however, Episode 2: coercive)	apprehensive, dangerous
<i>Judgement of social esteem</i> Tenacity: organized, coordinated, brave	disorganized, uncoordinated
<i>Judgement of social sanction</i> Propriety: law-abiding	illegal, unlawful, criminal
Propriety: rightful	no legislative rights
Propriety: caring	opportunist
Veracity: genuine	deceitful

Table 6.1. Contrastive SELF and OTHER representations by MGER

Table 6.1 contains the results of the analysis of MGER's discursive strategies conducted in this chapter. MGER and migrants are contrasted by showing difference in nationality (мы 'we' versus граждане других государств 'citizens of other states') and in physical appearance, i.e. fair-haired, fair-skinned, stereotypical Slavic facial features vs. dark-skinned, dark-haired, stereotypical "Middle Asian" or "Caucasian" facial features. Furthermore, contrasts are identified in the emotions evoked through SELF and OTHER's behaviour, i.e. positive and friendly SELF (apart from Episode 2) versus apprehensive, dangerous and threatening OTHER. Finally, the contrasts are observed in the area of judgement of SELF and OTHER's behaviour. SELF discourse participants are represented as law-abiding, having the right to hold organized meetings and require change of legislature, caring with respect to their own people and migrants and genuine in their desire to do so. Migrants are, on the other hand are depicted as illegal (or assumed to be illegal in the future, or suspected to be illegal) and criminal, having no right to affect the legislature but having only responsibilities (obtaining work, permit registration), opportunist due to

having taken advantage of legal loopholes, and deceitful. All these contrasts are supposed to create a substantial distance between SELF and OTHER discourse participants in the campaign Наши деньги - нашим людям 'Our money for our people'.

6.4.2.6. Mitigation strategies

Mitigation strategies of self-representation are widely used in migration discourse and, just like evaluative strategies, they can intersect with other discursive strategies. For example, the justification of their action on economic grounds is used by MGER for purposes of legitimation but also to mitigate their own negative representations by means of a face-saving strategy.

Mitigation strategies most commonly take the form of denials of various kinds in the verbal commentary. Van Dijk (1993) offers a comprehensive inventory of such denials in the immigration discourse⁶⁴, while noticing that "one of the crucial properties of contemporary racism is its denial" (Van Dijk 1993:87) and that "the denial of racism is a part of the strategy of positive in-group representation (ibid: 89). The most frequent device is the use of the denial of the type "I am not racist". Situational and group-based denials are used by MGER to dissociate themselves from anti-migration movements, such as DPNI, so as to put aside accusations of ethnocentrist positions in Action 1. Van Dijk (ibid:94) identifies them as the strongest forms of denial called reversals, as such denials espouse the proposition of the type "We are not racists, they are the real racists". In present-day Russian society, similarly to the rest of the contemporary world, where discrimination and racism are officially banned, denials are expectedly taking a much more prominent role in the discourse on ethnic

⁶⁴ Van Dijk (1993) identified that among various forms of denial that contribute to the reproduction of racism disclaimers, mitigation, euphemism, excuses, blaming the victim, reversal and other moves of defence, face-keeping and positive self-presentation are the most popular in immigration discourse .

affairs and as a image-making and face-keeping strategy in general.

Interestingly, MGER's self-representation is not necessarily positive throughout the campaign. In the previous sections we saw how carefully MGER is trying to construct a positive image of its action in Action 1, and reconstruct it in Action 3 after face-threatening self-representations in Action 2. As a consequence, the commentary to Action 3 is inundated with disclaimers denying the ethnocentric focus of the campaign. This can be explained either by MGER's underestimation of the face-threatening ethnicist images or, which is more plausible, their beliefs in that subsequent denials can rectify the negative face strategies used in Action 2.

Another type of mitigation strategies of self-representation is reference to authority. I concluded earlier that MGER attempts to seek legitimation for its actions through reference to higher-ranking officials, such as Vladimir Putin, or to expert opinions. However, such strategies can also be realized to deflect responsibility for own actions, statements and initiatives to third persons and thus mitigate any negative effect of its own actions. Such strategy by MGER, similarly to denials, can also be interpreted as a positive face-keeping strategy.

A remarkable mitigation effect is created by the reinterpretation of the images produced at MGER's head office. The interpretation of the print image in Picture 6.15 by a regional division of MGER demonstrates how the negative force of the image can be mitigated. Picture 6.15 shows the slogan *Нелегал = вор!* 'Illegal migrant = thief' bordered by perpendicular lines reminiscent of prison bars (grid):



Picture 6.15. Episode 3 Site 1 (Moscow)



Picture 6.16. Episode 3 Site 2 (Riazan')

A reinterpretation of this image is demonstrated in a hand-made poster produced by MGER's Ryazan division (see Picture 6.16). In the recontextualized image the squares are extended to rectangles to create an appearance of railway tracks. The rhetorical effect of the two images differs dramatically. Whereas the image in Picture 6.16 places the slogan into the travel frame with migrants as travelling subjects of the action, the image in Picture 6.15 evokes the prison frame which is intended to intimidate the arriving migrants and is a realization of a delegitimizing/ criminalizing strategy. The prison frame in which migrants can be conceptualized as criminals behind bars is substantiated by the claim *Нелегал = вор!* 'Illegal migrant = thief' which implies reiterated criminalization and is far more aggressive than the travel frame. The prison frame interpretation is more plausible under consideration of the verbal element of the poster in the above pictures. Nevertheless, the travel frame is also plausible taking into account the sites which are chosen for the action, i.e. train stations, and the fact that it has been evoked before, i.e. through previous posters of magnified tickets *Москва/ Новосибирск/ Челябинск - домой* 'Moscow/ Novosibirsk/ Cheliabinsk – home'. The implication for the self-identification is that however coordinated and organized MGER members would like to appear, a lack of consistency can be observed in their ideology towards migration and in the coordination of their actions in general.

6.4.3 Construction of discourse space ontology

In this section I would like to return to the conceptual plane and to demonstrate how the findings from the discourse strategies discussed earlier in this chapter can be incorporated to construct and discourse space ontology for the campaign *Наши деньги - нашим людям* 'Our money for our people'.

In the previous discussion we saw how complexes of mental spaces are constructed for the purposes of SELF and OTHER representation. According to Discourse Space Theory, as discourse unfolds, discourse space

ontology is constructed. Discourse space ontology for SELF and OTHER representations is an ideational and ideological construction (Hart and Lukes 2008:117), through which the campaign Наши деньги - нашим людям but also people, events, states of affairs and processes can be conceptualized.

The SELF-OTHER dichotomy, as noted in the previous chapters, may be derived from representations of physical space (Chilton 2004:117). In the spatial axis, MGER members, i.e. anonymous grass roots members and party leaders, are the deictic centre (DC). Other elements of the deictic centre in the spatial axis are the government, Prime Minister and ‘United Russia’, i.e. the initiators of the quota proposal. The lexicogrammatical resources in the commentary are either noun phrases (NPs) which contain a large number of proper names or 1st person pronouns.

It can be suggested that due to the number of various interpersonal relationships (MGER-DPNI, MGER-FMS, MGER-construction companies) the spatial axis contains multiple entities. My method of positioning them along the scale is through outlining the sociocultural distance:

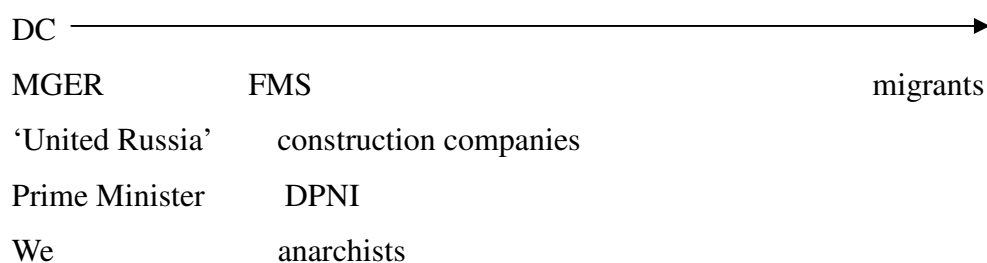


Figure 6.4. Spatial axis representing discourse participants

Figure 6.4 demonstrates that out of all the entities positioned on the spatial scale with respect to MGER and other elements of the deictic centre, migrants are the most distant entities according to sociocultural distance. FMS, the construction companies, DPNI and anarchists are very close to the deictic centre on the spatial axis as belonging to the same culture, however, they are outside of the inclusive-“we” space.

The temporal axis seems to be insignificant for the construction of the current discourse space ontology. However, two specific discourse-driving events do require consideration of the element of the past on the construction of SELF and OTHER representations. One such event is the disturbances in Paris in 2005 which are alluded to both visually and verbally and which are responsible for the most negative emotions which MGER associate with migrants. Another event is the disturbances in Kondopoga in 2006 which are not explicitly mentioned but can be regarded as the background assumptions contributing to the negativization of migrants that became a part of the Migration frame (see Chapter 4). The temporal axis can be presented in the following way:



Figure 6.5. Temporal axis representing discourse-driving events

The modal axis seems to be particularly significant especially in its axiological capacity⁶⁵. The axiological element means that SELF and OTHER can be assessed not only in terms of spatial distancing but also in terms of contrasting values and antagonistic behaviours. The deictic centre on the axiological axis marks positive values of the SELF elements of the deictic centre and then tends to negative values represented by migrants, i.e. there is an element of the social distance in the axiological axis. The identification of values by MGER can be seen from their evaluative strategies of judgement of social esteem and social sanction and which emotions are evoked by discourse participants in the DC vis-à-vis the discourse participants' places on the axiological axis, from the most positive to the most negative. It is therefore legitimate to suggest that the axiological axis is manifold and it reflects various aspects of judgement and affect.

⁶⁵ See Cap (2006:34-39) for the discussion on the role of axiological modality in the US war-rhetoric legitimizing the war on Iraq and the construction of the axiological modal axis.

As Table 6.1 demonstrates, they have contrasting values in MGER’s representations of SELF and OTHER, and hence they can be placed along the axiological axis in the following way:



Figure 6.6. Axiological axis representing values and emotions

Apart from the values identified on the basis of MGER’s visual and verbal evaluative strategies some values are only present in background assumptions, such as cultural difference (implied in the allusion to the interethnic disorders in Paris), linguistic ability (alluded to through the use of translations in the posters) and other values. The axiological axis may also involve different ideological beliefs with respect to the ideology of multiculturalism defined as the right of migrants to observe their religious and cultural traditions in the receiving country.

The resulting discourse ontology can be schematically depicted as follows:

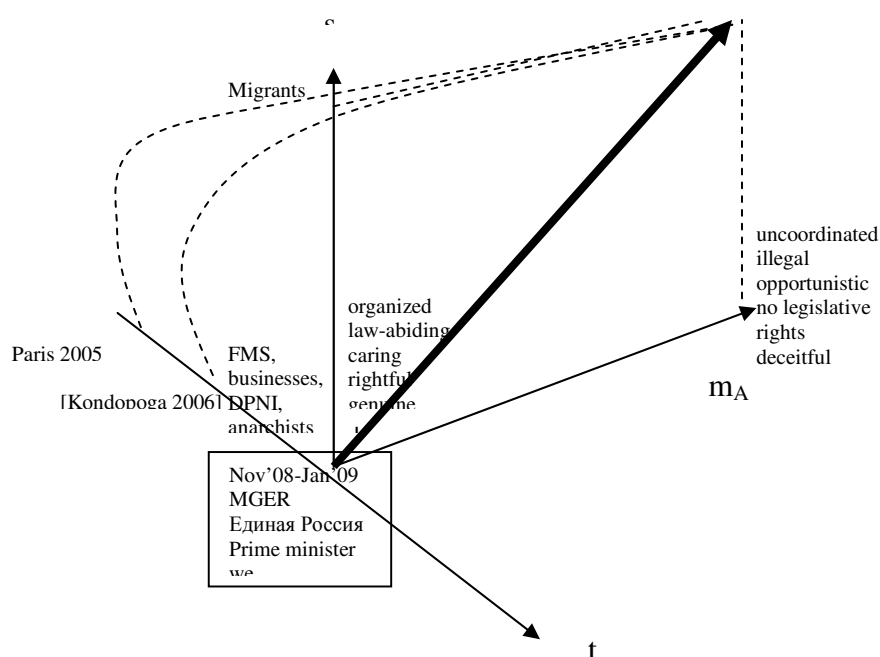


Figure 6.7. Discourse space ontology for SELF and OTHER representations

The three axes intersect in the deictic centre which describes the SELF discourse participants who hold the campaign Наши деньги - нашим людям 'Our money for our people' in November 2008- January 2009 as organized, law-abiding, caring for their own people and the migrants, having the right to change the migration legislature and to hold authorized meetings and genuine in their endeavour to help the people and the situation in the country, according to MGER's SELF-representation. They endow themselves with the most positive qualities with respect to emotions evoked and judgement of behaviour. The migrants who are at a considerable distance on the social space axis are socioculturally more distant than other discourse participants. Similarly, they are at a considerable distance on the axiological axis, which signifies their negative evaluation by MGER. The lines connecting the two historical events Paris 2005 and Kondopoga 2006 (a background assumption) with the point of intersection of other coordinates are shown as having effect on the OTHER representation constructed in the campaign Наши деньги - нашим людям 'Our money for our people'. The interpersonal relationship between SELF and OTHER is

depicted through a thick arrow with tends from the deictic centre outside. This relationship reflects MGER's strategy of *distanciation* from migrants through negativizing them.

The above ontology does not characterize all aspects of the campaign as it is merely concerned with analysing the interpersonal relationship between SELF and OTHER. It can be extended to show for example how OTHER representation changes through the three episodes of the campaign to see the dynamic of the constructed representation, or certain axes, i.e. axiological axis and spatial axis can be further theoretically elaborated before being tested in an empirical study. Alternatively, specific lexicogrammatical and discourse-semantic resources required for the construction of such ontology can be identified precisely. Due to space limits, all these endeavours will be left to be explored in the future work on SELF and OTHER representations.

6.5. Conclusions

The analysis of a multimodal corpus demonstrates that MGER's representations of migrants are almost always negative which reflects the overall anti-migrant ideology observed during the analysis of the pro-governmental corpus of 2006-2007. The ideological background of MGER's campaign "Наши деньги - нашим людям" 'Our money for our people' can be described as discriminatory towards migrants.

MGER's representations are based on the identification of contrastive visual, verbal and conceptual elements to create a picture of socioculturally distant SELF and OTHER discourse participants. It has been observed that rather than simply replicating each other, visual, verbal and conceptual aspects of SELF and OTHER representation often appear in a complementary relationship. For example, negative OTHER representation can be rendered through the attribute нелегальный 'illegal' which offers a judgement of migrants' behaviour, or through a description of a hypothetical situation where migrants are represented as criminals or through showing a

poster with burning cars entitled Париж 2005 'Paris 2005' which construes a conceptual blend in which migrants are represented as source of a massive-scale disorders in the country.

Contrasting SELF and OTHER is a global discursive strategy which is observed through a number of specific discursive strategies, such as referential, evaluative, (de)legitimizing and solidarity/distancing. Table 6.2 shows the strategies that the MGER applies to SELF (MGER, “our people”) and OTHER (migrants) and the means of their visual and verbal expression in the multimodal corpus⁶⁶:

Discourse participants	Macrostrategies	Microstrategies and means of expression	
		Visual	Verbal
SELF	Referential,	Collectivization, often individualization, positive appearance (Action 1 and 3), aggressive appearance aimed at coercion (Action 2),	Collectivization (Plural) nomination, functionalization (nouns showing role in organization)
	Evaluative Legitimizing	Functionalization, demonstration of subordination (grass root members vs. members of Political Council	Modal verbs, verbs communicating demand, reference to authority, quotations
	Solidarity	National colours in posters, dress, print	1 st person personal and possessive pronouns
	Mitigation	National colours in posters, dress, print	Denial “I am not racist”, reference to authority (delegation of responsibility)
OTHE R	Referential	Objectivation through metonymical reference to bags as part of migrants’ identity (Action 1 and 2); Functionalization (choice of sites – construction companies, baker’s shop; images of road	Evocation of discourse metaphors NATION IS HOUSE and MIGRATION IS CONFLICT Categorization based on provenance (generalized in Episode 1 and 2, definite in Episode 3)

⁶⁶ The strategies mentioned apply to all three actions of the campaign unless stated otherwise.

	Evaluative Delegitimizing	worker (Episode 2) and decorator in posters (Episode 3) Criminalization through the evocation of the discourse metaphor MIGRATION IS CONFLICT. Construction of counterfactual conceptual blends through the posters "Paris 2005". (Episode 2) Image of prison bars (Episode 3)	Negative appraisal, problematization through emphasising the illegal status, harmful effect on the society and mentioning in relation with illegal activities. Genericization (reference in plural or through metonym process-for-people, no individual identities)
	Distancing	Categorization through physical classification (Episode 3)	Some neutral evaluations, categorical denial
	Mitigation	Reinterpretation of prison bars as railway tracks	

Table 6.2. Discursive strategies in the campaign Наши деньги - нашим людям 'Our money for our people'

Macrostrategies outlined in the above table are different for SELF and OTHER discourse participants in two aspects. MGER, in legitimizing their own actions, at the same time are striving to delegitimize OTHER discourse participants. Similarly, a solidarity strategy directed towards наши люди 'our people' is replaced by a distancing strategy in relation to OTHER discourse participants.

The discourse space ontology which is based on the contrasting categories was constructed as a result of the analysis of the multimodal corpus to show that contrasting categories, such as discourse participants and values, are ultimately applied to emphasise the sociocultural and axiological distance of migrants through negativization.

It can be suggested that such representations contribute to the proliferation of anti-migrant ideology which has been professed on the

territory of the Russian Federation in recent years by entrenching the positive SELF - negative OTHER model which continues to be the dominant model of interpersonal relations in the governmental and pro-governmental discourse on migration.

Conclusion

7.1. Research findings

7.1.1. Empirical study 1

The analysis of referential-categorizing and evaluative strategies of pro-governmental media articles published on the website of Moscow City Council at the end of the year 2006 has demonstrated clear discriminatory tendencies in representing migrants. It has been established that the most preferred way of characterizing OTHER participants of migration discourse is through ethnonyms. In real-life discourse, not only pure semantic ethnonyms, but also various other categorizing attributes can be used directly or indirectly to indicate the ethnic element or to evoke associations with specific ethnicities. For instance, we can figure out ethnic connotations in the representations of OTHER discourse participants if they are described or referred to through their physical features, occupations, names etc. It is important that the taxonyms which at first glance appear as politonyms or demonyms, in the context of migration discourse can change a sociosemantic category. Subsequently, they can be easily used for ethnic categorization.

It is important that the study of pro-governmental discourse was conducted in parallel with the texts taken from the radical anti-immigrant movement DPNI's website. Such a comparative study has given a better overview of a discriminatory anti-migrant ideology which is applied by DPNI. It has been found out that the strategies of reference, categorization and evaluation are similar between the two corpora, although it would be incorrect to conclude that all SELF and OTHER representations are discriminatory towards migrants to an equal extent. In fact, we see a substantial number of dissenting voices of journalists in the Moderate Corpus who entertain positive or neutral and negative OTHER

representations without simultaneous SELF victimization. The index of evaluative force calculated for both the Moderate and Radical corpus demonstrates that statistically, there are slightly fewer negative OTHER representations than neutral ones in the Moderate Corpus (0.7 versus 0.9 in the Moderate Corpus compared to 1.6 versus 0.1 in the Radical Corpus). However, a general picture established through the analysis in Chapter 4 does suggest that OTHER negativization with the concomitant SELF victimization appears as a very prominent evaluative strategy even in the Moderate Corpus. It is this fact which allows for the modelling of discourse space ontology for the representations analyzed, which shows two types of distancing, i.e. social distancing which is reflected in the highlighting of opposing attributes, and axiological distancing, which is shown through focusing on negative moral qualities and negative behaviours of OTHER discourse participants.

7.1.2. Empirical study 2

The goal of Empirical study 2 was to extend the monitoring of the Moderate Corpus focusing on indirect language, which has been becoming increasingly prominent in migration discourse. The metaphors containing or alluding at SELF and/or OTHER discourse participants were grouped according to their respective source domains and analyzed through the examination of conceptual blending networks arising when these discourse metaphors are employed in real-life migration discourse. This was performed with the aim of accounting for novel meanings which can emerge when conceptual imagery is used to negotiate such meanings. It was established that HOUSE, CURRENT and WAR are the dominant source domains for both metaphors that contain SELF and/or OTHER representations. The dominant metaphors are actively employed to negativize migrants. Secondary metaphors, such as RESTRAINT, ANIMAL, FAMILY and BODY provide a basis for neutral but also negative OTHER representations. A notable exception is represented by secondary

metaphors based on the source domain LIGHT-DARK, which seems to be exclusive to Russian migration discourse and which is used to negativize migrants consistently. In the analysis of the examples provided in Chapter 5, we can see that the purpose of such a consistent negativization of migrants is to delegitimize them, increasingly evoking the topos of threat and danger to the SELF discourse participants setting up conceptual frames in which migrants occupy a position of agent responsible for the threatening effects with the local population. It is illustrative that a substantial number of such invoked comparisons originate directly from persons with evidential standing, such as political figures, for instance, rather than journalists. Indeed, journalists sometimes contest the metaphorical representations provided continuing the tendency for dissent which was observed in Empirical study 1. This is suggestive of the fact that alternative positions with respect to SELF and OTHER representations are being expressed within the Russian media during the period analyzed, which thwarts accusations of, for instance the analytical centre SOVA, of purely discriminatory anti-migration ideology proliferated through the Russian media.

7.1.3. Empirical study 3

Empirical study 3 is based on the principles stemming from Multimodal Discourse Analysis which suggest that different semiotic resources are used simultaneously for the construction of meaning. The central tenet is that images and texts should be regarded as complementary sources of meaning in discourse. It is with the purpose of complementing the analysis of textual SELF and OTHER representations that a multimodal corpus for Empirical study 3 was compiled. With respect to the analysis of SELF and OTHER representations as sociopolitical phenomena, these representations are analyzed in the context of the campaign *Наши деньги - нашим людям* 'Our money for our people' organized by MGER in November 2008 – January 2009. MGER is a pro-governmental youth movement which represents the

interests of the Russian government in many spheres including migration discourse. This time political actors project their own and OTHER representations without an intermediary, such as journalists, using their own web-resources. The sociocognitive analysis of this campaign is conducted along the lines developed in the two previous studies. Firstly, the conceptual structures, such as conceptual blends, discourse metaphors and metonymies are considered. Secondly, referential-categorizing, evaluative and other discursive strategies employed for the representation of SELF and OTHER discourse participants are explicated. It can be concluded that MGER uses both direct and indirect semiotic resources extensively to continue negativizing migrants and to project their discriminatory anti-migrant ideology which makes their campaign similar to those used by radical anti-migrant groups. It is not accidental that one of the contemporary anti-migrant movements, a follower of the now banned DPNI called the Russian Civil Union (RGS), has incorporated the demands and offers, as well as OTHER representations projected by MGER during the campaign analyzed, into their manifesto.

Similarly to strategies of OTHER representation employed by DPNI in the Radical Corpus and some journalists in the Moderate Corpus, MGER's representations are mainly based on the identification of contrastive visual, verbal and conceptual elements to construct socially distant SELF and OTHER discourse participants with opposing moral qualities and behaviours. In doing this, MGER activists can employ direct qualifications such as the language of criminalization or they can set up conceptual structures. Even if they are hypothetical, they are supposed to represent migrants as a threat, danger and burden in times of economic crisis. MGER activists present themselves as morally positive whereas migrants are imbued with negative attributes and negative behaviours either explicitly or by implication.

7.2. Discussion

The results of the empirical studies have confirmed that the *negativization* of OTHER discourse participants in Russian migration discourse during the period of corpus collection, i.e. 2006 – early 2009, has been continuing and increasing in contemporary Russian society. For instance, the percentage of negative versus neutral and positive representation in Study 1 (Pilot Moderate Corpus), Study 2 and Study 3, demonstrates an increase in OTHER negativization:

	Study 1		Study 2	Study 3
	Moderate Corpus 2006, %	Radical Corpus 2006, %	Corpus of metaphors 2006/7, %	Multimodal Corpus (verbal part) 2008/9, %
Negative	40.5	94.3	57	88
Neutral	53.7	5.7	30.1	12
Positive	5.8	0	3.1	0

Table 7.1 Evaluation of OTHER discourse participants

The statistical data demonstrated in Table 7.1 demonstrates that, in general, pro-governmental discourse became similar to radical discourse in the projection of OTHER representations between 2006 and 2009. The data demonstrates that rhetorically effective discourse structures, such as discourse metaphors, project a higher number of negative than neutral representations. The number of negative representations in the verbal description of MGER's actions is several times higher than the number of neutral representations (88% versus 12%) which can be explained by their aim to promote and legitimize an explicitly anti-migrant policy advanced by their ideological mentor Vladimir Putin. Indeed, the ideology of the pro-governmental movement MGER with respect to migrants' representation is reminiscent of that projected by DPNI before the latter was banned on the territory of Russia and an extremist movement. It can be seen from Table 7.1 that both movements exhibit no positive OTHER representations in the corpora analyzed and both movements project a large number of negative OTHER representations. However, even a small number of positive OTHER

representations does not save the situation. According to Jäger (1991:4), even occasional positive characterizations in the presence of predominant negativization are a clear indication of *racism*, if this evaluation is made from a position of power derived from belonging to a majority.

The discursive functions of such negativization can be manifold. Especially frequently, the strategy of negativization is employed by those who have some kind of evidential standing, such as political figures, and resources, such as party budgets and modern technologies. They have to legitimize their own position, the spending of party budgets, and they appeal to a certain section of the electorate. This *SELF legitimization* appears on a par with *OTHER delegitimization* whereby migrants are presented as criminal, immoral, illegal, deceitful, opportunistic and naturally causing negative emotions in the local population.

It can be suggested that the consistent negativization of OTHER discourse participants over the last several years, has been one of the contributing factors to the contemporary radicalization of contemporary Russian society and the proliferation of the anti-migrant ideology has had an effect intended by those constructing and representing migrants negatively or as criminals. The most recent polls see the radicalization of especially Russian youths. It confirms that the anti-migrant rhetoric spread by and through the Russian media has been finding increasingly more support.

The results of the analysis confirmed that the ideology used to represent migrants in the Russian media is discriminatory towards migrants and it uses elements of *racist categorization, evaluation and racist discourse structures*. It creates an interface, as suggested by Van Dijk (1995:18) in his definition of ideology adapted for this thesis, between cognitive representations, such as dichotomized cognitive identity frames of SELF and OTHER, conceptual scenarios/ blends based on certain discourse metaphors, such as Migrant Is Criminal, and interests and societal position of those who advance nationalistic and racist ideas.

Distanciation (after Chilton 2004) appears to be one of the discursive functions of such a negativization. Distanciation is employed

from the position of socio-cultural distance (axis mS on the discourse space ontologies in Section 4.5 and 6.5) and moral distance (axis mA on the same ontologies). The discourse space ontologies presented in Sections 4.5 and 6.5 demonstrate how the polarization of SELF and OTHER discourse participants is effectuated, whereas sociosemantic and evaluative analyses give linguistic evidence of such a distancing.

Discussions on the evaluative meaning of specific OTHER representations are still in place in the presence of the spreading radicalization of contemporary Russian society. Russian experts in linguistics have recently voiced their opinion on the evaluative effect of the expressions such as *славянская внешность* 'the Slavic appearance', *выходец с Кавказа* 'the native of the Caucasus' and *лицо кавказской национальности* 'the person of the Caucasian nationality' through a publication in the on-line magazine "Vzgliad"⁶⁷. In the view of Mikhail Gorbanevskiy, Head of Linguists' Guild, who divides all expressions into evaluative and non-evaluative, the above expressions belong to the latter category. According to him, the only reason why such expression should be avoided in legal settings, is because they are stylistically or linguistically incorrect. In my view, such statements strive to the *normalization of the meaning of words* (Fairclough 1989, see also Section 1.4.1), the effect of which can be "constraining the contents of discourse, and, in the long term, knowledge and beliefs" (Fairclough 1989:105). Fairclough points out the creativity and activity of social subjects because to him "being constrained is a precondition for being enabled." (ibid: 102). It would be interesting in this respect to explore the creativity and activity in the sphere of SELF and OTHER representations on the part of the constrained discourse participants, i.e. migrants. Such a study is not possible within the limits of this thesis, but this could be a possible object of future research.

⁶⁷ <http://vz.ru/society/2011/8/5/512807.html>

7.3. Contributions of the thesis

7.3.1. Contribution of the thesis to the field of Russian studies

One of the major contributions of this thesis to the field of Russian studies is its exclusive focus on contemporary Russian discourse. The thesis demonstrates the implementation of discourse analysis, studies of racism and discrimination etc. to contemporary Russian language material.

The amount of sociolinguistically orientated publications focusing on the analysis of sociopolitical issues of contemporary Russia within the framework of discourse analysis has been insignificant so far. In the introduction, I referred to some volumes which introduced studies of media representations of OTHER discourse participants. In my view, the most important omission in the studies of migration discourse is the lack of a temporally extended corpus, and also the focus on exclusively verbal material. It has been demonstrated in this thesis that it is essential to analyze visual and verbal material simultaneously (see Chapter 6). The dynamics of attitudes to migrants in Russia have been explored through comparing the results of the analysis of the temporally extended material. Through a painstaking analysis and comparison of SELF and OTHER representations in these corpora, it has been possible to pinpoint areas of concern for ethnicist and racist attitudes in contemporary Russian society.

7.3.2. Contribution of the thesis to the field of CDA

The contributions of this thesis to the field of Critical Discourse Analysis include an extension of methods and tools of analysis, a wider application of the metaphorical approach, an incorporation of a multimodal corpus, and a synthesis of analytical inventories, among other things.

Considering the poignancy of the problem, as this thesis has demonstrated, it is vital that various aspects of migration discourse stemming from various sources are investigated in their entirety. For

instance, it is not sufficient to calculate SELF and OTHER representations in media texts. It is equally important to consider whether SELF and OTHER representations are used in an attributed or non-attributed way, and whether the authors of the texts actually proclaim or disclaim such attributions. Only under the consideration of such a dialogic approach facilitated by the developments of the Appraisal theory, could I come to the conclusion that the number of neutral OTHER representations in the Moderate Corpus is actually lower than the number of negative OTHER representations.

Similarly, I found it essential to separate Radical and Moderate, or self-proclaimed/ publicly recognized moderate, discourses. It is a deficiency of many studies within CDA that textual corpora are collected and analyzed without reference to the political views of those who produce statements. If such statements are combined into a general-purpose corpus, it is impossible to recognize to whom the proliferated ideology belongs. Generalized and incorrect conclusions can be attributed to, for example, governmental discourse, whereas, in fact, most negative statements or representations originate from radical discourse participants. I have found it beneficial to separate Radical and Moderate corpora from the outset, so that the Radical Corpus could serve as a benchmark corpus for explicit language expressing anti-migrant discriminatory ideology, and the comparison was made against this benchmark.

Eventually, it turned out that a combination of several theoretical approaches, such as Conceptual Blending Theory, Critical Metaphor Theory, Discourse Space Theory, Appraisal Theory and sociosemantic theory has facilitated a fuller analysis of SELF and OTHER representations stemming from different sources and different time periods and resulted in a more painstaking and detailed analysis. My thesis demonstrated that several approaches can be applied to the analysis of SELF and OTHER representations in migration discourse in a complementary fashion to account for various details of analysis.

Finally, I consider the inclusion of visual material as one of the

strengths of this thesis. The multimodal analysis has demonstrated that ideologies can be conveyed through material only available in photographs, on the one hand. On the other hand, the multimodal analysis has helped to confirm some conclusions or to identify implicit ideas in the verbal corpus. In sum, it is essential to consider multimodality in the analysis of media representations, because of the meaning potential created by these complimentary modes of representation.

7.3.3. Contribution of the thesis to the field of cognitive science

The discourse analysis of SELF and OTHER representations conducted in this thesis has shown that within a sociocognitive strand of Critical Discourse Analysis, there are numerous ways of investigation. So far, the sociocognitive strand of the analysis of migration discourse has been primarily associated either with studies investigating conceptual metaphors or based on the investigation of long- and short-term memory structures, such as Van Dijk's (1998) social representations. It has been demonstrated in this study that the investigation of SELF and OTHER representations can be conducted under the consideration of more recent developments in cognitive science, such as Conceptual Blending Theory. Conceptual blends have been investigated in their entirety. For example, my contribution to the cognitive study of SELF and OTHER representations in migration discourse is the analysis of conceptualised representations, which I entitled personal identity frames. At the conceptual level, SELF and OTHER discourse participants constitute agentive identity frames which are only visible under the investigation of specific conceptual blends, noticeable, for instance, in metaphorical language. Hence, I considered it essential to include the analysis of conceptual imagery into my thesis, along with the analysis of verbal and visual material. I am confident that only such a holistic investigation can create a detailed picture of the investigated sociocognitive phenomenon, i.e. SELF and OTHER representations and the respective ideologies of those who construct such representations.

7.4. Directions for future research

The analysis conducted in this thesis has uncovered multiple areas which may require further investigation. With the increasing indirectness of language and ways of social actors' representation it may be worth considering the effects of presuppositions and implicated material from the pragmatic point of view. Such areas as discursive ambiguity and irony/sarcasm outlined during the analysis in this thesis remain largely under-investigated at the practical level despite substantial developments in studies of ambiguity and irony. Further on, the investigation of SELF and OTHER representations could be extended to a larger corpus considering more media resources from various discourse participants, including television programmes, shows and interviews. Thus, the investigation could be transferred into the field of media studies and borrow conceptual frameworks and methods of analysis from this field. Multimodality is another area which requires a thorough investigation, for example, through consideration of aspects other than images, such as clothes, gestures and speech patterns. In addition, a comparative study could be conducted with the aim of comparison of discursive or conceptual strategies of interpersonal relations between SELF and OTHER discourse participants, such as the perceived similarities between pro-governmental actions, such as the campaign described in Chapter 6, and actions of radical anti-migration groups. The corpora size could be substantially extended under the application of different selection criteria to include regional media and other newspapers and magazines rather than those chosen by one institutional agent, i.e. Moscow City Council, to avoid a bias in the selection procedure.

Finally, as pointed out earlier in this chapter, it would be interesting to explore the creativity and activity in the sphere of SELF and OTHER representations on the part of the constrained discourse participants, i.e. migrants, in order to obtain a balanced picture of migration discourse.

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Appendices

Appendix 1a: Empirical Study 1. Moderate Corpus

Appendix 1b: Empirical Study 1. Radical Corpus

Appendix 2a: Empirical Study 2. Extended Moderate Corpus

Appendix 2b: Empirical Study 2. Corpus of metaphors

Appendix 3a: Empirical Study 3. Multimodal Corpus. Action 1

Appendix 3b: Empirical Study 3. Multimodal Corpus. Action 2

Appendix 3c: Empirical Study 3. Multimodal Corpus. Action 3